Daily Report

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Protests Continue; New Developments Reported

Army on Alert; Backs 'New Course'

AU1212194290 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Malte Olschewski report from Tirana]

[Text] Political opening in Albania—the last Stalinist bastion in Europe has apparently fallen. Following several days of student unrest, the Albanian Communist Party has now also permitted other political parties. This afternoon, the first party, the so- called Democratic Party, was founded. In February next year, free elections will be held.

The Albanian television evening newscast yesterday [11 December] brought the sensation—shendrrim will become reality. Shendrrim is the Albanian word for perestroyka, or restructuring. The founding of political parties was admitted by the Communist Party Central Committee. The Communists who have so far governed dictatorially will meet over Christmas to prepare themselves for general elections in February.

The revolutionary change took place after thousands of students began to boycott university classes in Tirana. Police forces cordoned off the students' housing quarters. There were clashes. Demands were voiced for replacing the Stalinists in the Politburo. Meanwhile, at the party headquarters, the different wings were fighting each other. Finally, party and state leader Ramiz Alia was successful. He received a delegation of 30 students yesterday. The second most powerful man in the country, Central Committee propaganda chief Foto Cami, and four other Stalinists lost all their offices. The Army is on special alert; however, its leadership apparently backs the new course.

Alia Broadcasts Message to People

AU1212203490 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Dec 90

["Radio and Television Message to the Albanian people from Comrade Ramiz Alia," Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear brothers and sisters, yesterday evening I talked with numerous representatives from Enver Hoxha University about their problems and concerns. I also talked with them about the problems and concerns which belong to the entire country and people. Today, I decided to turn to all our people to explain certain political aspects of the situation through which we are passing, a situation which preoccupies us all and which we must all confront together.

You are now aware of the recent decisions of the party Central Committee. We have decided to call a congress next year and to hold a party aktiv soon which will study the party's electoral platform for the elections to the People's Assembly. This aktiv will provide an opportunity to analyze the situation through which we are passing and to lay down tasks for the role of Communists in the near future.

We are convinced that our people, with the trust that they have placed in us until today, will stand united with the party in leading our country forward. The party has now publicly expressed its view that the creation of independent political organizations is to the benefit of the country's further democratization—of course, those organizations which respect the laws in force and which correspond to the lofty interests of the homeland and our nation. This wise stand by the party represents a further link in the chain of our democratic process which is now irreversible. We are, of course, entering a new phase of political relations within the country, in which we lack not only experience and the necessary legal mechanisms, but also the political and technical concepts for such a situation.

The practice of a truly democratic dialogue [word indistinct]. We must all concentrate and work on finding the best roads for creating the best and most appropriate conditions for the progress of the economy; the preservation of the rights and freedoms of the individual; and the defense of the essential interests of collectives and different social strata; and above all to guarantee the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the homeland.

We all share the same view of the benefits of democracy, but I have one preoccupation that I would like to share with you, dear communist and noncommunist brothers and sisters, calling on your political consciences and your patriotism to avoid any mistake which could be fraught with consequences for the entire country: Some individuals and circles may conceive democracy as a liberation from all forms of political morality and every legal norm. Some people may seek to impose on others their ideas and viewpoints, heedless of the general interest. If such ideas and forms of behavior increase and spread, the danger will arise of the country's destabilization and fall into anarchy. In such a situation, incidents which nobody would desire could occur.

Albania and our people need a contemporary form of democracy, a democracy which preserves the noble ancient and modern spiritual values of our people, a democracy which makes it possible to solve problems using the best possible mechanisms and means. True democracy is achieved through constructive dialogue and a respect for the interests of the workers class, the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia, women, and all the people. Today is not a time for theorizing, but for wise discussion on how the specific problems preoccupying the people are to be solved. Let us, therefore, reasonably weigh objective recommendations with sound logic. Our people would never allow anybody to destroy what they have built with blood and major sacrifices from the liberation to today.

A political organization must be judged not by slogans or by what it proclaims with noise and hullabaloo, but by the sincerity of its aims, the justice of its views, and its respect for the people's aspirations. Humanism and human freedoms do not stem from [word indistinct], but from wisdom and a broad consideration of problems. Let us carry democracy and pluralism, whether ideological or political, toward national and popular unity, not toward division. We must look at and strengthen what unites us as citizens of this country, as sons and daughters of the Albanian people, and as masters of Albania. Historically, our people have suffered from divisions as have few others. History shows that divisions among Albanians have always ushered in dark forces which have worked against Albania's interests. Let us, therefore, not allow a foreign hand to enter among us.

Democratic developments are a long-term orientation for the road our country must follow. I understand and appreciate the desire of all those who favor the acceleration of the reforms which our party has undertaken. I wish to assure you that we, their initiators, also subjectively wish to move faster; however, merely wishing is not enough. We want to achieve democratic developments by democratic methods alone, through work, culture, and thought, and with no pain or loss of any kind.

Democracy means not just freedoms and rights, as some may think; it also means duties. We are working to build the rule of law in a strong and stable way. The life of every citizens should be secure. His work should be respected. His will should not be trampled upon. His creativity should not be despised. It is precisely for this reason that the law must be (?paramount) above everybody. If democracy requires violations of the law, it will never be achieved.

We have the opportunity to show that we are a civilized people, able to learn from the experience and harsh (?trials) of others, a wise and cool-headed people. We have the opportunity to demonstrate once again (?the falsehood of the traditional lie) that the Albanian people are uncivilized. It is well known that in the process of speedy democratization there is no lack of various political demagogues, whether (?weak-minded), malevolent people or provocateurs. The people and honest patriots must be vigilant and not imperil the interests of the homeland and the life of the people. We must not forget that we have enemies who wish to divide and split us or who wish us ill; but we must always stand joined in unity against them.

Dear brothers and sisters, we have embarked on the road of democracy and are convinced that we will win even this new and historic struggle. Times are hard, however, and the roads of democracy are not strewn with flowers. I have total faith in the workers class and the patriotic peasantry, the girls and boys of Albania, its women, and our intelligentsia, that at all times and in all situations they will be guided by the traditional reason and wisdom of the people and by its sound logic and will overcome all difficulties patiently and with cool-headededness.

I would like to conclude by calling on Albanian Communists, who, as whenever [words indistinct] the democratization of the country's life which their party has undertaken.

Workers Join Student Protests 13 Dec

LD1312131790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—Albanian workers are joining students. Despite Ramiz Alia's calls for peace and order and the authorities giving in to some student's demands, protests are still under way and are turning into mass gatherings, TANJUG has learned today by telephone from Tirana. Witnesses claim that strong security forces still guard vital areas in Tirana, including radio and television and three major monuments in the town center: to Enver Hodxa, Salin, and Skender Bej.

The fear is that Shkodra-like events could be repeated, where last summer demonstrators damaged a monument to Stalin. Later this year it was officially explained that the monument was removed to a museum for conservation works. It has not yet been returned to its former place nor has it been made public where it is currently placed.

Witnesses describe the situation in Tirana as full of tension but mixed with the feeling of satisfaction with the fact that the students have won the fight for first steps toward democratization of the life in the country. Such a mood is probably a result of the fact that some, although not all, of the demonstrators' demands have been met. The students are claimed to have demanded the dismissal of the entire party and state leadership except Ramiz Alia, autonomy for the university, faster economic recovery for the country and an end to Albania's isolation.

Ramiz Alia has allowed the formation of political parties. This opportunity was used immediately: Last night several thousand students intellectuals, and workers set up the Democratic Party of Albania. It was announced that the party will put forward its candidates at elections on 10 February next year. [passage omitted]

New Party To Run in Feb Elections

AU1312133290 Paris AFP in English 1327 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Nicolas Miletitch report]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 13 (AFP)—Albania's fledgling Democratic Party will field candidates against the country's hardline Communists in February's legislative elections, an Albanian intellectual contacted by telephone said Thursday. The party was founded by students and

young intellectuals a few hours after President Ramiz Alia's announcement on Tuesday evening that multipartism would be allowed.

Besnik Mustafaj, an author, said that calm had returned to Tirana's streets with almost half the students back in class after demonstrating for four days. Nobody was killed in the demonstations and only three were hurt, including one seriously injured woman, Mr. Mustafaj said.

At least 60,000 people gathered Wednesday afternoon at the university campus in Tirana when the party's creation was announced, a witness contacted by telephone said. The Communist Party newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT made only a brief mention that the Democratic Party had been founded.

Only a few names in the new party have emerged so far. One is a 25-year-old law student, Azem Shpendi, who is on its founding committee, while economist Gramos Pashko and heart surgeon Sali Berisha, both liberals, appear to be its key advisors. The party's programme stresses free initiative in both politics and economics and calls for a democratic Albania in Europe. "The new electoral law adopted for the February elections is written in terms which are sufficiently vague and evasive to allow future Democratic Party candidates to run," said Mr. Mustafaj.

Under Albania's new regime, independent political parties can be created "in the respect of current laws." But that theoretically means they can only be formed under the wing of the Popular Democratic Front, an organization headed by the Communist Party and led by Nexhmije Hoxha, widow of Communist Albania's founder Enver Hoxha.

Students had called on Mr. Pashko, Mr. Berisha and Mr. Mustafaj to be their spokesmen to obtain the release of some 15 people arrested during the demonstrations. On Sunday, the three men convinced the students to abandon plans for a huge rally on Skenderbeg place, in central Tirana. In return, Mr. Berisha was received by President Alia and gained the freedom of those arrested. "The students were very agitated, so were the police and we were very worried that we could have a Tiananmen situation here," Mr. Mustafaj said in reference to the police massacre of students on June 4, 1989 in China. Mr. Mustafaj said he was pleased that Mr. Alia had chosen the "wise path" and praised the students and citizens who had supported them.

The citizens of Tirana appear to have a great deal of sympathy for the student movement which is also backed by students from Korce (south-east), Shkoder (north-west) and Elbasan (centre), Mr. Mustafaj said.

On Wednesday evening Mr. Alia said in speech to the nation broadcast by Radio Tirana that Albania was running the risk of anarchy if "the law is not respected." Observers noted this could have been an allusion to recent acts of vandalism in Kavaje (50 kilometres or 31 miles south-east of Tirana) where groups of young people smashed store windows and damaged public buildings, according to reports published Thursday by ZERI I POPULLIT.

Leaders Continue To Send National Day Greetings

Iraq's Saddam Husayn Sends Regards

AU1112173690 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Iraqi President Saddam Husayn; place and date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I have the pleasure of sending my sincere greetings to Your Excellency, wishing you health and happiness, and progress and prosperity to the Albanian people.

I hope that the relations between our two countries will develop to the mutual benefit of our friendly peoples.

Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi Sends Greetings

AU1112173890 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 3 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah; place and date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of your friendly country, on my own behalf and in the name of the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, I have the honor to convey to you very best wishes for the happiness, health, and progress of Your Excellency and the friendly Albanian people.

SRV Leaders Greet Alia, Carcani

AU1112133690 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 1 Dec 90 p 3

[Text] Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Secretariat of the Vietnamese Communist Party; Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State; and Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, write in their telegram to Comrades Ramiz Alia and Adil Carcani:

On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the country's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution in Albania, we send cordial greetings and warmest wishes to you, the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Albanian people.

The Vietnamese people are very happy at the victories which the Albanian people have won in the 46 years of building a new life.

On the occasion of this historic anniversary, we sincerely wish the Albanian people even greater successes in the construction of their own homeland and in the cause of the country's democratization and revolutionization, thus leading Albania further on the road of socialist construction.

We are deeply convinced that the traditional relationships of friendship and cooperation which exist between the peoples of our two countries will be developed and strengthened from day to day, in the interests of the peoples of our two countries and of peace and social progress.

DPRK's Yon Hyong-muk Greets Carcani

AU1112173290 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Council of Ministers Chairman Adil Carcani from DPRK Premier Yon Hyong-muk; place and date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, I send you my warmest greetings.

On this occasion, I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will further expand and develop in the future. I sincerely wish you and the Albanian people new victories in realizing the eighth five-year plan for the country's economic and cultural development.

Cambodia's Hun Sen Sends Best Wishes

AU1112174090 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Council of Ministers Chairman Adil Carcani from Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia; place and date not given]

[Text] Availing myself of the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the national day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I am very happy, in the name of the Cambodian Government and on my own behalf, to express to you my most sincere congratulations. I wish you much success in carrying out the new policies of the Albanian Workers Party and the Albanian Government for the prosperity of the Albanian people.

Please accept assurances of my very deep respect.

Cambodia's Heng Samrin Sends Regards

AU1112190190 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Heng Samrin, chairman of the Council of State of the State of Cambodia; place and date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the national day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the Cambodian Government and people, and on my own behalf, I have the pleasure of sending warmest greetings to the Albanian Government and people.

We have followed with interest and admiration the achievements of the Albanian people under the correct leadership of the Albanian Workers Party and the Albanian Government. I am deeply convinced that the relations of friendship between our two countries and peoples will be further strengthened and developed every day to mutual benefit.

I wish you full health and many successes, and happiness and prosperity to the Albanian people.

Please accept assurances of my deep fraternal respect.

Cuba's Castro Sends Greetings

AU1112185290 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Text] Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Council of State and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, writes in his telegram to Comrades Ramiz Alia and Adil Carcani:

On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the victory of the Albanian people in their struggle against the fascist invaders, I have the pleasure, in the name of the people, the Council of State, and the government of the Republic of Cuba, of sending warm congratulations to you, the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

I avail myself of this occasion of the celebration of your festival to reaffirm our determination to continue our work to strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries to the benefit of both our peoples.

With my deepest respects.

New Prime Minister Discusses Appointments, Plans

AU1212145290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Dec 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov by Tosho Toshev in Sofia on 9 December: "Is the 'Prime Minister of Hope' Full of Hope?"]

[Excerpts] [Toshev] Our last meeting with Mr. Popov took place on Sunday, 2 December 1990 at the service entrance of the Palace of Justice. I intended to interview him on the political situation in Bulgaria. (The interview was published on the next day, 3 December 1990 in the daily TRUD). [passage omitted]. On Saturday, 8 December 1990 I again asked to be received by Mr. Popov, who agreed to meet me at 1200, precisely, in his provisional new office on the second floor of the Council of Ministers building, just one floor above Mr. Andrey Lukanov's office which he still occupies. [passage omitted]. At 1330, however, Aleksandur Lilov, Chavdar Kyuranov, and Aleksandur Tomov entered the prime minister's office. [passage omitted]. They stayed for one hour and fifty-five minutes. [passage omitted].

After seeing his guests off at the door Mr. Popov received me together with Mr. Ivan Blagoev the newly arrived expert from the Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation. Following a pleasant general conversation we agreed to see each other again on the next day, at 1200. [passage omitted]. On the next day, Sunday, 9 December, our inteview began with following question:

Mr. Popov, in defining your future cabinet, as a "cabinet of hope," do you realize how frail this hope really is? The seven days which you have at your disposal seem a long time, but also represent an incredibly short time for a realistic evaluation—will you inspire the people with hope? Are you not afraid that the eighth day may become a day of disappointment?

[Popov] No matter how small and frail the hope may be, it is still hope. It is sufficient for releasing, encouraging, and deploying the forces of constructive spirit, goodwill, creative effort, revival, and creativity.

[Toshev] Do our activities of the past two days justify this statement, or is it just an expression of human, wishful thinking?

[Popov] As of this very moment (it is 1330 on 9 December 1990), I have had exactly 21 meetings.

[Toshev] Where are they leading to?

[Popov] People who are really inspired by goodwill and a constructive spirit are coming to me.

[Toshev] I am impressed by the fact that you never mention the word "opposition." Should this be a new phenomenon in Bulgaria's political life? Does it mean that the establishment of your government is altering the concept of opposition on the grounds that that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is expected to participate in the government this time?

[Popov] This is true, Mr. Toshev. However, the concept changes only to a certain extent. A parliamentary majority continues to exist in the National Assembly and there is still a minority consisting of two different forces. One force opposes the other. What has changed is that there is no more opposition to the government.

[Toshev] This is an interesting political situation.

[Popov] Some people hastily remarked that the government which I am supposed to lead is based on compromise which makes it weak and unpopular. I really think that the opposite is true—the political forces found the strength of supporting a government which is possible only under this formula. This is a wise and resolute political decision. It is possible to establish a strong government on this basis—a government of transition from an old to a new system.

[Toshev] Could you describe the structure of the future executive power, how many ministries will there be in your cabinet, how many deputies will you have, and what is your real right of participation in selecting the members of this cabinet?

[Popov] In the first place, there will be one prime minister with three deputies. In the second place, we are planning to introduce eight basic ministries about which the major political forces should agree on accepting the persons proposed by the prime minister. In addition to these, there will be another nine ministries.

[Toshev] Yes, as far as I know, the two major political forces are expected to propose four candidates each for the eight with ministries on a parity basis.

[Toshev] What about the others, are you going to look for them?

[Popov] Yes, I will look for them. I have this opportunity and I also have my preferences.

[Toshev] What kind of people are you inclined to select—are they deputies of the Grand National Assembly, or do you prefer people from outside the parliament?

[Popov] I prefer to contact the social circles outside the parliament who should propose distinguished professionals with prestigious, well developed, and confirmed qualifications.

[Toshev] Can we say that you are talking about a government composed of strong intellectual personalities?

[Popov] This is absolutely correct, and I would like to point out their professionalism.

[Toshev] Would you reveal which major political forces you held talks with?

[Popov] As you can see for yourself, I already met the representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] yesterday. I have not yet met the SDS representatives.

because they are still holding their conference in Plovdiv. I hope that this meeting will take place soon and that by Wednesday, 12 December, I will be able to submit a final draft of the new cabinet. I met representatives of the trade unions, namely Mr. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB]. I also met the representatives of certain new social organizations, such as the Producers's Association, or Mr. Mollov's group, as they call it. I had private talks with many people—representatives of unions of architects, teachers, medical doctors, and other professional unions, with some former minsiters, experts, and parliament members.

[Toshev] Do you already have any preferences concerning your deputy ministers?

[Popov] I have some preferences indeed, but this is up to the political forces to decide. I would just like to tell you with satisfaction that, in accordance with my personal preferences I selected Professor Todor Vulchev, who already responded positively to my offer.

[Toshev] Some time ago the KNSB Executive Committee published a statement prompted by the current alarming economic and political crisis, saying that the country needs an SDS dominated government. Do you believe that the government you are about to form is somehow dominated by the democratic forces? This is what I would like to call them since I am deliberately avoiding the name SDS.

[Popov] The formula about an "SDS dominated government" was one of the possible options, which was already discarded. I would say that the government I am trying to establish will be dominated by democracy.

[Toshev] What are you most worried about as a prime minister, Mr. Popov? Who do you think are your strongest opponents, the trade unions perhaps?

[Popov] As I already pointed out, I met Professor Krustyu Petkov. I must stress that our talk was very positive, very encouraging, and I am infinitely pleased with it. I am awaiting my talk with Dr. Trenchev. I hope that he will manifest his constructive spirit and goodwill in support of a government which embodies the Bulgarian people's aspirations.

Beron Outlines Circumstances Behind Resignation

AU1212134290 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 1

[Interview with Petur Beron, former chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Elena Trifonova; place and date not given: "Not A Good Word From Anyone"]

[Text] [Trifonova] Mr. Beron, last Monday [3 December] the Coordinating Council announced your resignation while you were outside Bulgaria. Do you not you think that this is somewhat unethical?

[Beron] I think it was a dirty trick [svinshtina]....

[Trifonova] The arguments were that you wanted to devote yourself to science, something which no one believes, naturally.

[Beron] There is some truth in it, for I would like to devote an hour or two each day to my work, which I have given up totally. However, despite the sympathy I feel toward Filip Dimitrov himself, who announced my resignation, this is still a dirty trick on the part of my colleagues.

[Trifonova] Will relations between the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation continue to develop?

[Beron] Oh, I am not sure. I cannot make predictions and official statements on behalf of the SDS, since I no longer fulfill the duties of chairman. I can only speak on my own behalf.

[Trifonova] Are you considering taking any action against Dr. Trenchev? Is it not true that he has failed to present any material evidence concerning anything has said?

[Beron] No, I do not. What I am undertaking against him, and which I do publicly here and now, is to call him a liar, a slanderer, and a scoundrel. I will continue to believe that he is such unless he proves his claims. In my opinion, he must explain where he obtained these documents which he is presenting. This is a problem for him to think about. If I am wrong, let him sue me for injury!

[Trifonova] What is your comment on Dr. Dertliev's statement at last week's news conference that you will be missed in politics? At the time it was not yet certain whether you would confirm your resignation.

I do not want to make any comment. Certain people are wrong in thinking that I am removed from the game and disgraced in the eyes of the whole world. For a long time I had too much respect for Dr. Dertliev to allow myself to make detailed personal comments about him personally....

[Trifonova] Did you use the past tense by accident?

[Beron] He did the same concerning me in the "Every Sunday" television program. Furthermore, at the last meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council I did not receive a single good word from anyone. You can note that down and include it in your report....

Kurdzhali Socialists Threaten Hunger Strike

AU1212132590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] A group of members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in Kurdzhali have announced their readiness to begin an indefinite hunger strike calling for the resignation of Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic.

This is a mark of protest against his statement made to the Grand National Assembly on 6 December. [date as heard]

In a letter sent by the group to Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, the president is accused of an antidemocratic policy and inaction, which show that he has not managed to overcome his party bias as a former chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces.

The letter states that if Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev fails within the very near future to apologize to all honest and unstained BSP members for his irresponsible words, a petition and indefinite hunger strike will be started in Kurdzhali for his resignation.

Podkrepa TU Expresses View on Future Cabinet

AU1212154790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 2

[Ekaterina Nikolova report: "Podkrepa Hopes For an Active Cabinet"]

[Text] The Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation confirmed its wish to see a competent and active government with which it would be possible promptly to sit down at the negotiating table and discuss the problems of the working people's social welfare and living standard, and also the questions of the transition to market economy. This is the view of the trade union's leadership which was expressed by Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation, after the Grand National Assembly entrusted Dimitur Popov with forming a cabinet.

Mr. Ivanov stressed that, as in the past, Podkrepa does not offer any readymade prescriptions for the nature and composition of the Ministers' Council. It would be important for the Podkrepa Trade Union, however, that the new cabinet should not be like the former one which in its role of supreme employer conducted a policy of discrimination regarding the trade unions, failed to observe existing agreements, and did not act as an equal partner with the trade unions.

The leaders of the trade unions affiliated with the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] pointed out on several occasions that they paved the for the new cabinet through their general strike. Therefore, they have all reasons to hope that the "government which is expected to be headed by Dimitur Popov will exclusively devote itself to protecting the interests of the working people and of Bulgaria."

'Latest Version' of Political Agreement Reported

AU1312095790 Sofia BTA in English 2228 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec (BTA)—In the latest version of the agreement between the political forces it is pointed out that they shall commit themselves to the consolidation of pluralism as a basis of the democratic society. They undertake the obligation to participate in the government of the country "in compliance with the will of the electorate" and to defend the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens.

But the agreement is still being particularized, participants in the talks told the BTA. Today the parliamentary factions had the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the latest version of its text. If the M.P.'s express disagreement with some of its formulations this may lead to the holding of additional negotiations. But on the whole the preparation of the agreement is nearing completion. The talks on the composition of the government are still continuing.

The latest version of the text fixes the laws which should be given priority and passed by the end of February 1991.

The mandate of the new government will be till the election of a new parliament. The political forces undertake the obligation to support the government and to oppose all attempts at ceasing its mandate by non-parliamentary means.

The draft agreement envisages the government to take measures for the functioning of the vitally important sectors of the economy this winter. The government is to take the first steps towards stabilizing the economy. Simultaneously and without delay the government should proceed to a reform.

The government should be headed by a neutral person. Its composition will be specified through consultations. The agreement envisages eight ministries to be equally divided between the ruling BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the opposition. These are the ministries of the economy, of finance, of defense, of the interior, of foreign affairs, of justice and of home trade.

The agreement provides for special guarantees against the persecution of individuals and organizations.

The political forces undertake the obligation to give priority to the adoption of a Criminal Code amendment act. But today the debates on this law in parliament were stormy and opposed the deputies of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and the Socialists.

The political forces have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to provide guarantees for penalizing all forms of discrimination of citizens stemming from their social origin, political affiliation and ideological beliefs.

The political forces have undertaken the obligation not to adopt a discriminational legislation which would outlaw the political parties. They shall oppose all forms of incitement and propaganda that may lead to this.

The agreement has a special section on the responsibility of the Socialist (former Communist) Party. According to its text the BSP recognizes its responsibility for the government of the country in the past decades. The political forces undertake the obligation to assist the

parliamentary commission dealing with those responsible for the crisis in Bulgaria. Personal responsibility will be sought only by legal order.

All parties, coalitions, socio-political and trade union organizations and their companies are obliged, in compliance with this agreement, to make a detailed report on their property and incomes and on the ways of their acquisition. The state will be returned the property acquired through state subsidies, without compensation or through forced expropriation. The property issue will be discussed in parliament.

The agreement draft has a special section on the archives. It provides for all documents containing information on the activities of state bodies and organizations till November 10 [1989] to be opened for use without restrictions. With the sanction of the respective party body there will be submitted documents containing information on purely party affairs.

With this agreement the political forces commit themselves to establish voluntarily a moratorium on all mass political initiatives in the open for a period of a month. The trade unions will have to undertake the obligation to refrain from strikes in branches and enterprises on which the normal functioning of the economy depends till the adoption of the new constitution of the country.

A separate part of the agreement deals with the policy on the national issue. It envisages the elaboration of a concept and a respective sovereign, lasting and pragmatic state policy which is not to change with the future change of governments. The draft points to the necessity of securing political, ethnic and religious pluralism for the individual. It envisages guarantees for the national security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bulgaria as an uninational and unitary state.

Interior Ministry Warns of Publicizing M.P. Files

AU1212154490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] In connection with the Grand National Assembly's decision of 4 December 1990, under which the Ministry of Internal Affairs is obliged to present to the leadership of the Inquiry Commission on Files of the Grand National Assembly all information on members of parliament, paid and unpaid employees (informers and officers) of the former Sixth Department and similar structures which preceded it in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, reports have appeared in the mass media referring to information whose authenticity had not been investigated and assessed by the competent state organs. This is stated in an announcement issued by the press center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The announcement issues a reminder that the leaking and acquisition of such documents and reports, irrespective of their prime source, is against the law, and the publicizing of such materials constitutes a crime under Article 357 of the Penal Code.

Supreme Court Proposes Penal Code Amendments

AU1212163190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 2

[BTA report: "Supreme Court Proposes Amendments to the Penal Code"]

[Text] The Supreme Court has proposed to the Grand National Assembly the amendment of articles 221, 221 B, 225, 225 A, and 234 of the Penal Code which envisage penal sanctions for disposing of public property for illegal purposes, or for providing untruthful information in connection with the drafting of economic plans and plans in the construction branches; for charging higher rents than prescribed in the housing sphere; for illegal mediation in commercial activities and for illegal contractors' services in the construction of apartment blocks and country houses. The penal responsibility for such legal offenses was closely linked to the centralized economic system of the past. Such offenses are now obstructing the normal functioning of the new economic system, the operation of private companies, and the introduction of a market economy.

Sofia City Council Discusses Foodstuffs Shortage

AU1212195890 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec (BTA)—Sofia has no reserves of foodstuffs. All foodstuffs are supplied day by day. Moreover, the goods that enter the shops are just a fifth of the necessary amount.

At a meeting held at the City Council today, attended by the Interim City Administration, representatives of the Ministry of Trade and Services and the Ministries of Agriculture and the Food Industry, and MP's from the capital, Sofia's mayor, Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov, asked for the MP's' support in the Grand National Assembly for a proposal aimed at the immediate solution of the food-supply problem in the capital and in the country under the conditions of extreme shortages.

The parliament should decide on the introduction of a national rationing system, providing and guaranteeing the indispensable minimum of all basic foodstuffs. The problem of feeding the population now and in the months to come is acquiring dramatic proportions and requires immediate and extraordinary measures. The distribution systems tried so far have proved inefficient. With the growing shortages social tension is getting out of control. Therefore it is proposed to immediately import the foodstuffs in short supply for guaranteeing the basic needs. This will cost the state 374,600,000 U.S. dollars for 1991, until the new harvest is gathered in.

The proposed national system for a balanced and just distribution of the stocks of goods takes into account the possibilities for municipal and regional self-sufficiency. The citizens will be given "household booklets" of foodstuffs ration tickets. The envisaged minimal quantities should guarantee everyone's life and health. It is

imperative to put an end to the queues in front of shops because the winter, the cold and the influenza epidemics pose a threat to the people's health and life.

A similar supply system was already used in Bulgaria during World War II.

It is proposed that all rationed goods are sold at reasonable prices which will be subsidized by the budget. The prices of the other goods will be formed freely. While the rationing system is operating all producers will be obliged to submit the necessary foodstuffs under pre-set quotas and prices.

Zhivkov's Lawyer Calls For 'Public Trial'

AU1312104990 Sofia BTA in English 0913 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov knows that it is in his vital interest that a trial be held against him, the lawyer of the former dictator, Ms. Reni Tsanova, said in an interview for "TRUD". She hopes that the trial will be public.

Ms. Tsanova expresses her disappointment that excerpts from Mr. Todor Zhivkov's indictment, handed over to the court on December 7, have appeared in the press. This is a violation of legal ethics. The court has the right to return the indictment for further inquiries.

The lawyer explains the reason for dropping the accusation of "fanning up national hostility and hatred" from the indictment because of its "untenability". The Bulgarian laws make no provisions for cases of "fanning up ethnic hatred". Therefore no retribution can be sought for those responsible for the so-called revival process when in 1984-85 the names of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria were forcefully changed. According to Article 162 of the operative Penal Code it is a crime to "incite national hostility and hatred". But in Bulgaria the Turks are not a nation but an ethnic minority, Mrs. Tsanova stresses.

She adds the lack of objective facts for accusing Todor Zhivkov of this act. There exist records revealing that at a meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in May 1988 Todor Zhivkov said that the names should not be changed because "this may cause a diplomatic conflict". But Mrs. Tsanova specifies that by May 1988 the names of the Turks were long changed and their mass emigration to Turkey had already begun. According to the lawyer in October 1988 the then minister of the interior repeated these words of Todor Zhivkov's before the chiefs of the militia in the southern regions.

UN Sanctions Committee Urges Urgent Aid Be Sent

AU1312114190 Sofia BTA in English 1102 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] The United Nations, 13 Dec (BTA)—The UN Sanctions Committee has called upon all states and international financial institutions to urgently render assistance to Bulgaria which is experiencing difficulties as a result of the economic embargo on Iraq.

The Sanctions Committee was set up in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf and it has been authorized to take decisions on behalf of the Security Council.

Before adopting a special document on Bulgaria the committee acquainted itself in detail with the economic situation in this country. The resolution, adopted last night, expresses concern over Bulgaria's grave economic problems brought about by the break in her relations with Iraq and with the occupied Kuwait.

The resolution stresses that Bulgaria is strictly adhering to the Security Council resolution on the embargo against Iraq.

The Sanctions Committee calls upon all states to render Bulgaria immediate technological, financial and material aid in order to relieve the unfavourable consequences for her economy.

The document addresses the UN competent bodies and specialized organizations, including international financial institutions and regional development banks, with the recommendation to reconsider their programmes for aiding Bulgaria in order to relieve her present economic difficulties created by the sanctions imposed on Iraq.

The UN secretary general has been assigned to request information from the states and competent bodies and agencies of the United Nations on the activities they are undertaking in order to relieve Bulgaria's economic problems. A report to the UN Security Council will be made on the basis of this information.

"We are happy that in this difficult period experienced by our country the Sanctions Committee and respectively the UN Security Council have responded to Bulgaria's request for international aid, which is a clear sign of the principled policy pursued by democratic Bulgaria towards the aggression," Mr. Dimitur Kostov, Bulgaria's permanent representative in the United Nations told the BTA.

Damage Caused by 'Antonov Case' Analyzed

AU1212181590 Sofia BTA in English 1649 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec (BTA)—A former correspondent of the BTA to Ankara writes today in "DUMA" about the "Antonov Case". The Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov was arrested in Rome in 1982 on charges of complicity in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II and was released by the Italian authorities in 1986 due to lack of sufficient evidence.

This article was prompted by the attempts to once again cast suspicions on Bulgaria, made by the same persons, authors of the so-called "Bulgarian connection" at that.

Italian justice started to disentangle one of the greatest scandals of the century and simultaneously a number of powerful intelligence and propaganda agencies measured swords in an unprecedented battle to get even with each other in which unfortunately Bulgaria's prestige suffered seriously, journalist Stefan Solakov writes.

According to him the Bulgarian competent authorities are also to blame. They misled the investigation by denying the facts revealed by the Turkish journalist Ugur Mumcu [spelling as received] about Turkish smugglers having realized transactions in Bulgaria, not without the knowledge of the Bulgarian authorities, as well as data about the sojourn of Agca in this country.

Mr. Solakov maintains that as a journalist in Ankara he had had the opportunity of convincing himself personally in the authenticity of the materials published by Mr. Mumcu. The Turkish journalist rejected a Bulgarian complicity in the attempt but proved the cooperation of the Bulgarian authorities with Turkish smugglers. According to Mr. Solakov most of these smugglers collaborated with the Turkish special services. For achieving a greater effect some of them were arrested in Turkey after which they made their confessions. Then the entire world learnt of the Bulgarians' alleged complicity in weapons, cigarettes and even drug trafficking.

All items on the trafficking list of the Turkish mafia were fastened on Bulgaria because for years on end we were embarrassed to make our shady transactions public some of which had probably been quite legal. Gradually the world was prepared to accept that since we were a pack of swindlers, we inevitably also had to be assassins. It occurred to no one that maybe we were just duffers who burnt the house to rid it of the mouse, Mr. Solakov writes.

Dwelling on the different versions on the attempt, he writes that the most logical conclusion is that the Pope was not the real target but "merely the board which was to bound off and accelerate the chief blow". The organizers of this satanic plot did not wish his death.

The article observes that Sergey Antonov, who found himself amidst this confusion of evil forces, reacted in the only possible way for a small and weak man he withdrew into a shell and refused to answer the challenges. The price he had to pay was great but it was at the expense of his health and not his dignity. This is what distinguishes Antonov most from the recently much talked about stars of the "silent front" for whom the change of flag proved to be easier than that of the handkerchief", the author concludes.

Federation for USSR Friendship To Be Founded

AU1212202990 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec (BTA)—A Federation for Friendship With the Peoples of the USSR is expected to be set up here in three days' time. It will be the successor of a totalitarian structure in Bulgaria's recent history, the latest name of which was Movement for Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship.

The idea to promote the friendship with the Soviet peoples has a more than fifty-year long history in Bulgaria. A union of the friends of the USSR was set up in 1929.

The chairman of the movement Mr. Nacho Papazov, who was disranked in the years of the so-called socialist construction, but then climbed still higher in the hierarchy to reach the Politburo of the already former CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] immediately after the changes of November 10, said today that the federation should be regarded as a "revival of the ideas for cooperation with the Soviet peoples in the new conditions".

At a press conference on the occasion of the forthcoming event it was stressed that the federation will aim at assisting the economic, cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries.

It will also pay attention to the problems of Bulgarians living in the USSR.

The founders do not want to repeat the old tendencies towards the absolutization of friendship with the USSR.

Havel Radio Address Views Constitutional Crisis

LD0912185290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1315 GMT 9 Dec 90

["Conversations at Lany": Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jiri Vejvoda in Lany on 8 December—recorded]

[Text] Up until now, President Havel has been only an observer of the signs of the constitutional crisis that may be threatening this country. Mindful of his responsibility, he has not been too hasty to give presidential pronouncements on the matter, but is going to give his views in the next few minutes. I would point out that the president was interviewed yesterday—that is, Saturday—by Jiri Vejvoda, and that it did, indeed, take place in Lany.

[Vejvoda] Mr. President, the event or events of this week are clear. I will not delay in asking questions that will seek to elicit your views on these matters, in this series of conversations at Lany. About two months ago in these conversations, you said that the power-sharing issue should not be postponed until next year, because there will then be a lot of other concerns. Now it appears that in this respect the negotiations have reached a certain crisis. Could you explain the basis of this crisis of the last few days?

[Havel] I will try to. My impression is that our fellow citizens who read the press and watch television carefully are probably very worried at this moment in their concern for the destiny of our state, the fate of our federation—but at the same time I fear that very few of them know precisely what the threat to the federation is, what the basis of the conflict is. Let me therefore try to explain it. I am afraid I will have to begin with some history.

The law on the federation adopted in 1968 divided up the jurisdictions, that means powers, in a certain way between the federal bodies, the Federal Government, and the republican bodies, the republican government. With the onset of normalization, however, it ceased to be put into practice. Several inconspicuous factual and other changes came about, and the centralist model was in fact maintained, with everything directed from Prague.

Then after last year's revolution, it was clear right from the start that there had to be a reevaluation and a redivision of powers between the republics and the federation, to make it a true federation—an authentic [autenticky] federation, we called it—to make it truly just and to allow it to function properly instead of just formally. Then a number of different phases ensued, the first of which was the constitutional power-sharing bill, which devolved certain powers from the federation to the republics. That was adopted back in July, but the Slovak Government indicated in its policy statement, adopted and passed by the Slovak National Council, that it did not consider this to be the definitive solution, and that it felt that other sectors ought to be transferred to republican administration.

Shortly after that, there was the meeting in Trencianske Teplice, where the Slovak Government indicated clearly what further transfers of powers it envisaged. After that, intensive talks began between the governments on further power sharing, to result in a new constitutional power-sharing law that would probably close this whole matter once and for all. This, like all other laws of course, is something to be decided by the legislatures, in this case the Federal Assembly, because its purpose is, in fact, to make decisions on such fundamental issues as the constitution, constitutional laws, and the constitutional arrangement of our state.

Then the matter was discussed in the governments. Although the governments cannot make the decision on it, they discussed it for reasons that are more than understandable. The Federal Government has the so-called legislative initiative—that means that it is entitled to table bills in the Federal Assembly—but as this is a matter that affects the republics and the interests of the republics, then of course all three governments, the republican ones and the federal ones, discussed it. After very long, drawn out discussions, attempts at compromise, and so on, a recent joint meeting at the Hrzan Palace managed to hammer out a draft for this power-sharing bill, which was a compromise reached at the joint talks and agreed by all three governments. At the same time, we agreed that this bill would be submitted to the Federal Assembly by the national councils, which also have the right to sponsor legislation.

The Slovak National Council then approved the bill in the form finalized by the governments, and the Czech National Council also approved it by and large, adding only about six different amendments. This bill provides for other sectors, primarily economic ones, to be transferred to republican jurisdiction. In addition to the basic attributes of the federal state—such as the Armed Forces, foreign policy, the currency, and customs administration—the basic issues of law of the common federal legislature and basic issues of our state's strategy for the economy, the orientation of foreign trade and so forth, were to remain in the hands of the federation.

And what happened? The thing is that the draft of this power-sharing law is to be discussed by the Federal Assembly on Tuesday, and it seems that there are Federal Assembly deputies who intend to submit this bill to a further analysis, and amend it.

So far, everything would be normal. The Federal Assembly is the decision-making and supreme body on this issue. The Federal Assembly was elected in free democratic elections by the citizens of our entire republic. Moreover, this Federal Assembly has also a certain mechanism—though to be honest it is not a perfect one, but it is there—that excludes a possibility of

majority voting [majorizace]—in other words, a possibility that those who are in the majority according to their nationality would outvote those who are in minority, which in this case means Czechs outvoting Slovaks. Therefore, no legitimate reason exists here to make an issue of this or that decision made by the Federal Assembly. It is not possible to doubt the legimacy and mandate of this representative body.

And what happened? In the case that the Federal Assembly does not adopt this law in the form adopted by the Slovak National Council, the Slovak National Council will simply declare the so- called sovereignty of the Slovak law: in other words the superiority of the Slovak National Council laws over federal laws. Such a step would mean a breach of the Federal Constitution, and would be the beginning of a collapse of our constitutional system and, de facto, of our entire legal system. There is a danger that this could eventually lead to the disintegration of our state.

A hint that such a step could be taken seems to be a manifestation of certain pressure on the Federal Assembly, which in its consequences can by very counterproductive. This is because it a priori questions the authority and sovereignty of the Federal Assembly. It represents some kind of ultimatum, as if the deputies were obliged regardless of their conviction to adopt what was proposed to them. In this way the very essence of the deputies' mandate seems to be taken away from them—they are obliged to act in harmony with their conscience and the will of their electorate, and decide freely; pressure cannot be put on them in this way. The pressure can achieve only one thing: that the deputies will get angry and will be picking holes in the law more than they perhaps originally intended.

This is the essence of the current crisis situation. The power-sharing law, in the form it is now put forward, is acceptable. It manages to secure the running of the federation as a federation. It is at the same time also acceptable for the Slovak side, which originally asked for many more powers—powers that would probably paralyze to a certain extent the running of the federation.

In my view, the law is good, but this is the issue. What matters is that it is not possible to put pressure on the Federal Assembly in this way. This is simply contradicting all the principles of democracy.

[Vejvoda] Why do you think that, let us say, the three most important amendments out of the six put forward by the Czech National Council, as outlined by Petr Pithart, are not acceptable to the Slovak side?

[Havel] It is not exactly clear to me. Suspicion emerges that it is simply a matter of prestige, but it cannot be excluded that there are some factual arguments behind it. The three amendments that the Czech National Council embodied in the bill include, for instance, the exclusion of the principle that a governor of the State Bank should be in turns a Czech and a Slovak. The Czech National Council probably based its decision on the reasoning that it does not matter if he is a Czech or a Slovak or a Hungarian, but that the decisive thing is that he is a good banker. This is at present extremely important, because you well know the state of our state treasury. I do not know what the other objections of the Slovak National Council are against Czech National Council amendments. Nevertheless, whatever they are, the last word belongs to the Federal Assembly.

The Federal Assembly cannot be perceived by anybody in Slovakia as something that does not represent Slovakia, as some kind of an instrument used by Czechs, centralists, unitarists, or proponents of Czechoslovakism to manipulate them. The elections were carried out on the territory of the entire state, and the Federal Assembly represents all the citizens of our Republic.

[Vejvoda] In the last few days, one ministerial statement followed another and representatives of the key political parties naturally joined in. How do you assess the current political situation in this context?

[Havel] It makes me very said. I think it is bad that the debates about the power-sharing law have lately assumed a more and more personal tone, and have included mutual attacks and suspicions. Among the speeches made yesterday, I was probably most taken aback by Prime Minister Meciar. I spoke with him as recently as on Thursday, and what he said was simply that until Tuesday, when the Federal Assembly is to discuss the bill, he will refrain from commenting on this issue. Nevertheless, already on Friday he commented on it in the way he did. Moreover, a week ago we agreed that we were not going to suprise each other with new things too much—that we were not going to complicate the debate about one thing by introducing all of sudden three other subjects.

Despite this, yesterday Prime Minister Meciar, besides commenting on the power-sharing law, suddenly cast doubt on the work of the federal prime minister and three other ministers. The reasons for him doing so are unclear to me. I do not understand why he did it, and what he holds against them. Neither do they understand it. Above all I do not understand why it is linked to the power-sharing law, which was agreed upon by all the governments, as I already mentioned. Now, all of a sudden, oil is being poured onto the fire in casting these doubts—which are not clearly spelled out—on the work of several people, who simply work intensively, and against whom no objections were voiced before.

This has taken me aback and saddened me, because this does not of course contribute to a desirable atmosphere at a moment when parliament is about to discuss such important things. It is not just the power-sharing bill alone. There are the constitutional document on fundamental civic rights and freedoms, which is very important for various reasons; the state budget, which is linked to the power-sharing bill; and law on large privatization. These are very important laws, on which the future of this country depends—and the work is not made easier

by hasty television addresses, which out of the blue accuse this or that person of something not clearly stated.

This might be a naive question, but nevertheless a question that many people probably ask themselves. In what state of development is democracy in this country?

[Havel] As is becoming apparent that many people do not realize what democracy is, nor how very wrong the democratic mechanisms are as they ensue from the previous constitution—which, of course, is being improved by a series of constitutional laws until a new constitution is created and approved. But in fact it is becoming apparent that there are no mutual interlinked democratic relations existing and working here.

Let us imagine a situation in which the will and decision of the Federal Assembly comes into conflict with a decision of the Slovak National Council, or in which a declaration of the Slovak National Council is at variance with the Federal Constitution. Let us imagine that discussions between chambers in the Federal Assembly do not end in any result. All these cases can occur, and each of them would result in some type of constitutional crisis.

In our Constitution there is not even a sign of any way to resolve these crisis situations. In our country no constitutional court exists that could assess whether a certain move is constitutional or not. It seems that there is not enough resolve to comply with the decisions of a legitimate body, which could eventually settle such disputes. It is a complex situation, but the main problem is that the spirit of democracy is not rooted deeply enough in people's consciences.

Coming back to Prime Minister Meciar, let us note, for instance, how in some of his statements, or even in the statements of other politicians—in this case the Slovak ones—not enough differentiation is made between the executive power and the legislative one. They say, for instance: we have agreed on this, so why should our agreements suddenly not be valid anymore? They do not realize that it was the executive power that had agreed on that, and that parliament has the power and right to discuss or eventually amend or approve, as it is a legislative initiative submitted to it by the executive power. Because who had agreed on it? Three governments and two republican representative bodies—which is quite a lot of people. This does not mean though, that it automatically has to be approved by the Federal Assembly in exactly this form. It is necessary to differentiate one political subject from another, and differentiate between their sovereignties. This is a matter of democratic spirit, democratic feeling.

[Vejvoda] Do you think, Mr. President, that it is precisely the issue of the division of powers, not to say the possible question of the dissolution of our state, that is the thing of most interest to people?

[Havel] I do not think so. Various public opinion polls are conducted periodically. They need not be absolutely accurate, but it cannot be doubted that they are carried out independently, with the intention of making objective findings. Well, they state that about 85 percent of the inhabitants want to live in a functioning federal state. The question of whether a power station falls under a ministry in Prague or Bratislava is not a primary one for them, but it is decisive whether, how fast, and with what results economic reform will take place. The decisive thing for them is our country's standing on the international stage, because they are well aware that if we are to survive the crisis period facing us, we need our state's credibility in international relations.

People are naturally interested in how much unemployment there will be, and in how much prices will increase. Although in Slovakia there is quite a strong, comprehensible, and understandable will to have a constitutional expression of their sovereignty, and not to have everything dictated from Prague—and everyone respects this—it nevertheless seems to me that the fundamental questions of the being, or non-being so to speak, of a person, a family, or any kind of coexistence [as heard], are decisive issues in the subconscious of the people.

[Vejvoda] So this is your evaluation of the talks. On Friday evening, I think it was, your press spokesman issued a statement, which has been widely quoted since then both here and abroad, to the effect that you will intervene at the moment the situation demands it. Are things moving toward that point? When will it be, and where?

[Havel] Yes, it appears that things are moving toward that point. At this serious moment, when the existence of our federative state is actually under threat, I cannot act the dead beetle. I took an oath as president to protect the Constitution, and all the signs are that things are moving toward a point where I will intervene in the situation, perhaps as early as this Monday.

[Vejvoda] Your state visit to Spain and Portugal will also take place soon, and will be educational in many respects in the sense that 15 or 16 years ago these two countries also overthrew totalitarian regimes. It is also undoubtedly a promising visit in the economic sense, and all other possible connections. Is this visit possibly under threat?

[Havel] For the moment we expect this visit to take place. It will be significant for many varied reasons, political and economic ones. The economics ministers are to go with me. They are intensively preparing for the visit in Spain, and looking forward to our visit. Naturally, if the situation developed to such an extent that I would not be able to leave my country, I would be forced to cancel the visit at the last minute. It would certainly not help Czechoslovakia's prestige in the world if I had to cancel it shortly before departure.

[Vejvoda] The important date of 10 December is practically upon us—a date which is generally important, and if we think back to last year, also important for our

country. Perhaps a few thoughts on this date would be an appropriate ending to our conversation today, Mr. President?

[Havel] 10 December is Human Rights Day. It is the anniversary of the day when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations organization. It is no accident that this day is also significant in a certain way in our modern history. Two years ago on the eve of 10 December the first independent free demonstration for 40 years took place in our country, on Skroupovo Namesti [Square]. Furthermore, a year ago, on 10 December—and it is no accident that it was precisely on 10 December; we timed our demands to coincide with this day intentionally—the government of national understanding was appointed, my predecessor resigned, and it was, in fact, the day that should correctly be considered the date of the fall of the totalitarian system.

I think it is therefore right for us to remember this day today, and in connection with this I would first like once again to emphasize that the only path for our Federal Republic is the path of policy founded on the ideal of human rights. This is the only policy that can make us equal members of the international modern community of nations and states. At the same time, I would like to express concern over the fact that precisely at a time when we recall this day, when we should remember how we were all, just a year ago, united as people who see human rights as the starting point for everything else, that exactly a year later the crisis that we have spoken about is culminating. I firmly believe that it will all end well in the end, that our federal state will survive this crisis, too—I firmly believe that it will take a certain catharsis, but at the same time I do not hide the fact that the situation is serious. It is so far the most difficult test for our fresh, young, and fragile democracy.

Dlouhy Gives Speech on Division of Powers Bill

LD1212174890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0949 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Speech by Federal Economic Affairs Minister Vladimir Dlouhy at the Federal Assembly session in Prague on the division of powers bill—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chairman, esteemed deputies, ladies and gentlemen. We have been in discussion here on the proposed [division of powers] bill for a relatively long time. We have heard a number of various views. Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, we all swear to one thing: the willingness to preserve the federative system of our state. First, I would like to speak in favor of this idea; I believe that it is absolutely necessary, clear, that every effort, every step which will lead to the preservation and strengthening of the Czechoslovak federation should be supported. In the same way, however, we have heard that as far as the understanding of the federation is concerned, there are quite considerable differences among us in our overall philosophy, our overall approach. I would like to say straight away that I do not think that the differences are so great.

Despite some very harsh points made at times, the discussion was undoubtedly good for something. In the painful process of learning, basically "on the march," in inverted commas, we have begun to understand the differing priorities of each one of us. A number of my colleagues—Deputy Sokol, Deputy Cic, and others—have already spoken about this here. They spoke about it yesterday, and I will briefly summarize how I understand it.

It appears that the majority of arguments are somewhat different to those on the Czech side. These are arguments where priorities which differ from the Czech ones, priorities connected with the question of nationality, the question of national identity, and so on, carry more weight. On the Czech side it appears to me that the views are more pragmatic, giving more room to economic argument. I do not wish to enter into discussion about whether I am 100 percent correct, or which of these directions we should prefer. It appears to me that the main point is to understand each others' priorities. We will not make any progress here if one side does not try to understand, and in the end will not understand, the other side. We can proclaim the slogans of federation and mutual coexistence as much as we like, but if the two sides do not understand each other, and possibly mutually back down, there will be no progress toward strengthening the federation and preserving it. This is, I think, a clear principle.

I would also like to mention the third partner here: the federation. The federation not only as an institution, but perhaps, as an executive administration inherited from the past, with problems and as a responsibility inherited with difficulty from the past, and a great responsibility at that.

I think that no one can blame this Federal Government of attempting to continue central planning and centralized management of our economy. On the contrary, we have perhaps quite clearly demonstrated the type of reform we wish to make, and we have tried and continue to try to demonstrate that demonopolization and decentralization is its indivisible part. I will, however, recall also the issue of responsibility. It will still be us, the Federal Government, who, in a brief period and possibly even some time after powers have been handed over, will be taken to account for solving the problems. We find ourselves in a deficit economy, and the deficit will continue to be typical for our economy. This will apply not only to our domestic market, but also to specific cases, such as to oil and to deliveries from abroad. In this respect it was the federation which was responsible until now, and it attempted to behave accordingly.

Responsibility, however, does not rest only with the Federal Government but also with the Federal Assembly, which must act accordingly, too. From this ensues one fact that was touched upon yesterday by Mr.

Minister Kovac, when he said that from his viewpoint this was a dispute between the Slovak and Federal Government. This Federal Government is a partner, however, which must be treated as an equal partner. The reasons for this are not our personal or political ambitions or our unnecessarily big offices and administrations, like my own for example. The reason is that until now it was the Federal Government and the Federal Assembly that bore the main burden of work, responsibility, and frequently even the consequences of public disagreement. Also for this reason, which was voiced yesterday by Mr. Deputy Cic, for example, we are opening up the most basic issues concerning the federation. We do not as yet have a number of models in the functioning of individual parts of the federation. All we can do is to forecast economic impacts caused by various shifts of power in various spheres and in various situations. And precisely this responsibility is the reason for which things cannot and must not be merely announced or submitted to the Federal Government. The Federal Government and the Federal Assembly represent partners, who must seek agreement and who must make concession, but they are partners who must participate in the quest for this agreement and to whom consecessions must be made in some cases, if need be, in the interest of reaching an agreement.

Allow me to make one personal observation with regard to this case. Yesterday afternoon and last night we actually witnessed here a whole number of speeches which, I must say, I did not like. These were mostly the speeches by the Czech side, which justified certain arguments. In a number of cases I even agreed with some points of these arguments, but when I subsequently evaluated them from the position of an impartial observer, these speeches could not have made a good impact in Slovakia. These were speeches which lacked the desire to back down on some arguments. While calling for concessions to be made to the Federal Government, the federation and Federal Assembly—I will return to this topic again—we must understand, precisely in the interest of willingness to preserve the federation, the priorities of the other person, to try to see them through his eyes, and to have a certain tactical approach to an actual way of achieving the agreement and preserving the federation.

The purpose of my saying this is not to recall the past. It is my endeavor to establish our future direction. This was my attitude to the outcome of the Hrzan Palace talks. As a member of the Federal Government I unequivocally support their outcome, and I point out that they reflect the Slovak National Council version [of the bill]. I always perceived this version of constitutional law changes as a good framework, although it was a result of political compromise. This compromise was not, however, a compromise for the sake of making a compromise. It was a constructive compromise which makes it possible to overcome the current crisis. I regard it as a constitutional framework, in the context of which it appears unworthy to actually discuss some more detailed questions. I personally can have a different view on separate items contained in this draft bill, but as a member of the Federal Government, and as a participant in the Hrzan Palace discussion, I support the draft which ensued from the Hrzan Palace talks. On the other hand, the Federal Assembly's right to possible changes and amendments must be fully respected.

What are my specific views of the possibilities of further action? First, above all, not to dramatize the situation. Let's adopt the draft of the submitted bill. I repeat, I back the version which resulted from the Hrzan Palace meeting, and that its purest form is that proposed by the Slovak National Council. Let us at the same time respect the vested right of Federal Assembly deputies to amendments.

Second, let's ensure a quick transfer of powers from the federation to the republics in all aspects where this law makes it clear, particularly where it is important from the viewpoint of the daily running of the economy. The transfer of powers must be quick, it must take place by the date on which we agree, and in such a way that the normal running of the economy will not be upset.

Third, let us advance our interpretation of potentially contentious problems. I stress: The potentially contentious ones—since this is the third time I am repeating them—because I think that the submitted draft bill provides quite a good framework. Let us then make progress in our interpretation, but through joint negotiations of three partners, as I already said: Of the three partners who must respect one another and who must try to find an agreement, of the three partners who are able to make concessions to one another if need be. Talks on the actual power sharing bill will follow. We will have to outline our understanding of this constitutional framework, which is being submitted.

On the federation level—the Czech and Slovak National Council will probably do this too—we will define which ministries we will have and what powers and activities will be entrusted to them. This will be the first move toward relevant interpretation of this constitutional framework.

Let us go on and define the meeting of the words federal importance. I would like to answer some questions here which concern agriculture, the distribution network of, in particular, oil and gas, and briefly also those which concern raw material and fuels and energy policy. In answer to questions asked yesterday, as far as the question of agriculture in particular is concerned, why was Paragraph 18 deleted: Above all this concerns a new understanding of Paragraph 17, which did not deal with industry in the same way as before, but about the economy, which includes all elements of the area of the economy of which agriculture is also a part. If an individual paragraph on agriculture were included, further individual paragraphs for engineering, fuels, energy, the chemical industry, and so on would also have to be included. Furthermore, the problem of agriculture as it

was set out in Paragraph 17; b) intervention of the state in agriculture, which is part of the state budget, or is understood as part of the state budget in Paragraph 11; c) the illegal system Paragraph 37, Section 3, and as far as cooperatives are concerned the powers of the federation are deduced from Paragraph 24, letters a, b, and c. What is more, the adjustment of agriculture is expected to form part of the trading code which is within the powers of the federation. In the agricultural area, only the legal system of protection of agricultural land falls under the competence of the republics from this viewpoint.

In answer to further questions from deputies yesterday, I would like to say, as far as land ownership is concerned, we are preparing a so-called land bill which the Federal Government will put forward. The same applies to legal measures concerning agricultural cooperatives. As far as agricultural organs, or the creation of an independent agricultural committee is concerned, I think that this will be a subject for further discussion, in which we will continue to interpret the bill which is being adopted today.

Allow me to briefly go over to the problem of the distribution networks. I will begin with yesterday's speech; I think it was Deputy Tahy who spoke about the price of gas. I think his question will help us to illustrate how difficult are the questions which we face. It is true that the foreign enterprise Metalimex imports gas from the Soviet Union; nevertheless the price of 65 hallers per cubic meter only corresponds to the price which we pay when we obtain gas through transit payment. We also obtain gas from others sources, and the price is decided through barter trade and so on, where the roughly average price is between 1.05 korunas to 1.10 korunas. The centrally directed price for Czech gas enterprises is 1.20 korunas. There is definitely a difference of 10 hallers per cubic meter. If we take 14 billion cubic meters, the difference which goes into the state budget is not 3 billion but it is a considerably large sum, 1.4 billion.

According to past agreement, the Czech gas industry is in fact the owner of the gas, in inverted commas. An owner bears the cost of the overall transit for the whole federation, despatching for the whole federation, losses for the whole federation, and interest in providing loans for gas supplies in the whole federation. It then sells this gas to the Slovak gas industry for 1.27 korunas while it obtains it for 1.20 korunas. So there is a difference of seven hallers per cubic meter, which on the one hand covers the cost of transit, despatch, losses, and interest on loans for supplies, but there exists also a trade margin, which is 27 hallers in Slovakia per cubic meter, while in the Czech lands it is 39 hallers per cubic meter, so that customers in both republics pay 1.53 korunas per cubic meter. This means that it is the Slovak gas industry which actually adjust prices. By this I mean that is the Slovak organs which propose price changes.

By this I wish to illustrate one fact: Yes, we have inherited a senseless system. This is the consequence of the federation, of taxes into the budget. I would like to say, however, that I reject the argument that the fact that something is being paid to the budget means that we should deduce from this disadvantage for one or the other republic. But what is valid, is something which has been said many times here, that this was the consequence of the classic centralist system.

For your information I would like to say that more than 30 billion korunnas were so far invested in the construction of the transit gas pipeline. Of this federal budget, subsidies constituted over 20 billion korunas. This is my side of the argument with Deputy Tahy. But there is one thing I would like to emphasize. Both the efforts of the Federal Government and the two republics was, after all, unequivocally targeted at changing this reality. Nobody wishes to preserve this situation. We know that this situation is bad, in the case of both the oil and the gas pipeline.

Now, allow me to make a second personal observation. You know that what I said was not in connection with the discussion of this constitutional law, but in connection with its interpretation. You know that I made quite sharply worded pronouncements on some problems related to the proposals on making the gas and oil pipeline (?more economical). I think that time is still to show the degree of relevance of my sharpness. I, however, think that it was precisely there where we encountered the problem about which I talked in the beginning. The point was not how we organize our future, but the fact that the Federal Government was not at all taken into account in a capacity of a partner. The Federal Government was simply told what would be done. In the case of the oil pipeline it was notified in writing, by a letter, without any prior warning. It was told a long time before the current discussion on this draft bill. I think that in the future we cannot behave like this, because for the reasons which I already summed up, and which can be of short-term nature but which can be even of longer-term nature in case of strategic raw materials, the Federal Government should also have a certain share in decision making about these issues.

As far as the transit gas pipeline is concerned I could give you arguments in favor as well as against the division of the entire system to two or even three joint-stock companies. I have necessary data here for it, but I do not want to speak about it too much in detail because I think that it is not appropriate to discuss it here now. it is a matter for later interpretation itself, for further deliberations. Nevertheless, if you are interested, I am capable of providing you with this basic information. I could say there will really be additional cost here if we divide the transit gas pipeline in two parts. This cost will be direct, as we will have to construct a pumping station to register the amounts of gas. There will also secondary expense as well as certain speculation consequences which could happen if... [pauses] etc.

Nevertheless, I think that yesterday's talks about the oil pipeline, about which we were informed in perhaps too

dramatic form, showed us the way out. It showed us the way out despite the fact that the Federal Government has not so far been invited to participate in discussing it. According to verbal information I was given during my talks with the prime minister of the Czech Government and minister of industry of the Czech Government, so far it has been agreed that it will be one supranational joint-stock company—this means one joint-stock company. From this point of view I welcomed this conclusion, and yesterday I gladly applauded the announcement.

All other talks, according to what the prime minister of the Czech Government announced this morning, will continue with the participation of all the three sides. So far only a transcript is prepared, which is signed by the deputy ministers of industry of the two republics. I could speak again here about the reasons in favor of setting up a unified oil pipeline system. I am not going to do so because I do not think that this is the appropriate platform. I would only like to support the results achieved at yesterday's talks in the sense that the oil pipeline system will not be divided, that only one company will exist, and all the three governments are going to discuss this issue. From this point of view I repeat that I understand the entire law which was put forward. I do understand it as a law providing us with legislative frameworks, and it depends only on us how we will manage to interpret it further.

Allow me to conclude my speech by repeating that as I did not hesitate to voice openly my views when I considered it necessary to speak about it, though I was aware of risking a lot with the Slovak side, I similarly did not hesitate to speak today very emphatically in favor of the bill put forward by the Slovak National Council, though I expect that in the eyes of some Czech deputies it will not help me at all. I think this is way—providing it is not the way taken by two partners, but by three. This is the fundamental precondition to enable us to preserve our federation. Thank you.

Council Chairmen, Calfa Support Power Law

LD1212204590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Shortly after the power-sharing law had been approved we interviewed the representatives of the bodies which put forward the bills—Dagmar Buresova and Frantisek Miklosko, chairmen of the National Councils.

[Begin recording] [Buresova] A tense situation really existed here. Perhaps it was unnecessary but the air has been cleared thanks to this tense atmosphere and some-things emerged in clear form.

Thank God, it seems that after all it was a good thing. Perhaps without that tense atmosphere we would not have realized the great importance of today's decision. What is really at stake or what was at stake was to preserve the federation. If this power-sharing bill had not been approved, then we would now have found ourselves in a constitutional crisis, and long and difficult talks would have been necessary. I am convinced that they would after all have had a good ending but we would not have had a peaceful Christmas.

[Miklosko, in Slovak] It is certainly a sort of historical logic, a logic of our development. But of course, one always lacks faith and has all the time to struggle to achieve it. That is why the doubt and uncertainty kept emerging.

What would I describe as a breakthrough? I think that everybody necessarily realized his very serious political responsibility for our entire country. That it is possible to reflect about things and argue about them, but when the time comes and there is an urgent need to decide serious issues, one has to take a clear stance, a stance which shows responsibility, not only on our own behalf but on behalf of all our citizens. Everything I expected in this regard was fulfilled. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Federal Assembly Prime Minister Marian Calfa also agreed to be interviewed.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What is the significance of the adoption of the so-called power-sharing law for, so to speak, ordinary citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic?

[Calfa, in Slovak] This law in fact really defines a new setup of the relations regarding the powers; it embodies what we have for so long fought to clarify—above all, financial management. It provides a basis for a closer relationship between the republican bodies and the institutions and organizations on its territory. This means that for an ordinary citizen this is some kind of general realization that a new phase has begun, when all the obscure maneuvering and redistribution through budgets disappear, and when everybody will really have to take care within his own sphere. This is not just the beginning of independent financial relations for a republic—it is in fact the beginning of independent financial management for a republic, a community, or other bigger entities, including an economic unit. This really is in my view a very strong signal in the sphere of state administration in favor of individual care for one's own affairs.

[Reporter] Could you briefly remind us about the final result of tackling the disputed questions?

[Calfa] It would probably be difficult to discuss one after the other. I want to say that the bill which was adopted was drafted some time ago, painfully, and with so many difficulties, by all the three executive powers, and was discussed by the National Councils and amended here in the Federal Assembly. By saying amended I need to point out that these amendments do not change the character of this law, they rather smooth and improve it. The law was prepared with a set time frame, which did not allow for a totally exact formulation in numbers.

After all, it is rather difficult to define the moment when a law is prepared. Therefore, the amendments carried out here are in fact the amendments which were generally adopted and agreed upon. What they in fact do is to improve the quality and add to the quality of the concept we drafted in our works.

[Reporter] Does the adoption of the power-sharing bill mean something special for you personally?

[Calfa] It gives me certain satisfaction because from the very beginning I believed that the law would be adopted. In the last few days and weeks, much emotion and excitement surrounded these issues; rumors, stances, views, quotes, and speculation were voiced, also in our press. Only here on the Federal Assembly platform did it become clear that it is a body of wise statesmen, and all this was put aside and the text of this law was discussed rationally. It became clear here that in principle the majority agreed on how to do it and this was after all adopted. There were of course voices which were against, but these were the voices which I would characterize as voices casting doubt on the entire concept of the federative setup. These were not the voices attacking the formulation, these were the voices which put the choice as either this or something totally different. The Federal Assembly then simply supported the bill which was adopted.

Therefore, I feel satisfaction, and I am happy that the Federal Assembly in practice approved our several months of work. [end recording]

Electoral System 'Shortcomings' Highlighted

AU0712111490 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 4 Dec 90 p 2

[Michal Galat commentary: "An Interesting Suggestion From the Hungarian Independent Initiative"]

[Text] The results of the recent local elections are valid in accordance with the law. Apart from some instances where the electoral law was violated—which the Slovak Electoral Commission is currently dealing with—it is impossible to cast doubts upon the validity of the elections. As opposed to the June elections in which the proportional system of representation for individual parties and movements in the parliaments was applied, a majority system was approved for the local elections. There are several electoral systems, however, each one has its positive and negative aspects. It seems that the application of the majority system in the recent elections has also demonstrated—in practice—some shortcomings worthy of comment. What are they?

From an analysis of the election results as a whole it is apparent that in Slovakia's ethnically mixed regions practically no Slovaks or members of the ethnic minorities were elected to the municipal and local representative bodies. For example, in South and South East Slovakia we noticed that Hungarian voters elected, first and foremost, members of the Hungarian ethnic minority. Of the 45 members of the municipal representative body in Komarno only one is a Slovak (two members belong to the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, one belongs to the Hungarian Independent Initiative [MNI], one belongs to the Communist Party of Slovakia, and the rest belong to the Egyutteles movement and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement). On the other hand, in towns and communities where the majority of the population are Slovaks we have not noted once example where mainly Slovak citizens occupy all the positions in local representative bodies. It seems that the majority system has also put members of the other ethnic minorities at a disadvantage (Poles, Croatians, Ruthenians, Germans....) in communities where these nationalities are in the minority in comparison to Slovaks.

This fact has perturbed, first and foremost, Slovaks in South Slovakia who realize that, on the basis of the valid electoral system, the composition of the representative bodies is not in harmony with the ratio of ethnic minorities living in specific communities. Some Hungarian deputies in the Slovak National Council [SNR] foresaw the possible considerable disproportion of members of individual nationalities in representative bodies. Therefore, they proposed that a principle of proportional representation for nationalities be enshrined in the law on community self-administration. Unfortunately, the SNR did not adopt this proposal.

As a result of the current situation, MNI representatives have adopted a point of view whereby the current representative bodies would co-opt speakers from the nationalities not represented in local administration in the interest of respecting their will. It is only possible to welcome the above-mentioned MNI initiative because it will, unquestionably, positively influence current and future ethnic relations and will at least partially alleviate the shortcomings of the electoral system for municipal and local organs.

Christian Democrats Disapprove of Restitution Bill

AU0912212290 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 5 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Principal Disapproval"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, during their meeting, members of the Christian Democratic Movement Deputies' Club in the Czech National Council expressed their principal disapproval of the bill on curbing the consequences of some property-related and other injustices. The bill which was redrafted by the Federal Government in its final stage as a bill on extrajudicial rehabilitation (so-called large restitution). They agreed that the bill excludes organizations and legal persons from being authorized persons, thus preventing any restitution for injustice against a number of organizations, associations, cooperatives, and churches. On the other hand, all physical persons are excluded from being obligated persons—i.e., persons who should return property. That would mean that all illegally acquired assets, which are at

present above all in the hands of the prominent people of the communist regime, are untouchable under this law.

In addition, the deputies pointed out that the bill excludes returning assets (real estate) as such, and proposes only financial reimbursement. Thus phrased, the proposal is not only in sharp contradiction to the interests of the injured but also imposes an increased financial burden on the state.

Government Views Rehabilitation, Monetary Issues

AU0712113890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 4 Dec 90 p 1

["(KZ)"-signed report: "Compensation for Those Who Have Been Rehabilitated"]

[Text] The draft regulation on the issuing of state bonds as compensation in accordance with Law No. 119/1990 on judicial rehabilitation was discussed yesterday at a session of the Federal Government. I. Kocarnik, CSFR deputy finance minister, gave journalists more details.

He stated, among other things, that part of the claims resulting from rehabilitation will be honored in cash up to a sum of 30,000 korunas. The remainder should be reimbursed in the form of state bonds. A sum of 1.5 billion korunas has been calculated for the draft 1991 budget. As far as bonds are concerned, the regulation submitted by the government envisages that the amount of bonds issued will amount to two billion korunas. They will be issued in nominal sums of one, five, ten, and twenty thousand korunas and should be payable within 10 years. In the Czech Republic the number of rehabilitated people is approximately 70,000; there are almost 20,000 in the Slovak Republic. By 22 November more than 2,000 people in the Czech lands had submitted a request for compensation, while more than 1,000 had submitted requests in Slovakia. The Investment Bank will guarantee the plan associated with the state bonds.

At the press briefing Petr Miller, minister for labor and social affairs, gave more detailed information about the previous government session on early retirement for miners. As of 1 January 1991, the government's draft regulation will enable miners who have carried out the most difficult and most hazardous work to retire at the age of 50. This regulation concerns those who have worked for 15 years and more and those who have greatly exceeded the highest permissible exposure period which restricts their further employment. From the background materials submitted it is apparent that the overall physical condition of these people begins to deteriorate at the age of 40 which—as opposed to the general population—is 18-20 years earlier than it should. This measure will concern approximately 9,000 miners. During the next 10 years, the costs of its implementation will amount to approximately 2 billion korunas.

The government was presented with a proposal for the implementation of a surcharge of 20 percent on imported consumer goods as an element of the measures for the introduction of the internal convertibility of the koruna. The implementation of an import surcharge is a short-term measure whose aim is to protect the balance of payments since this will reduce pressure on the purchase of foreign currency.

The government also discussed a monetary policy concept for 1991. The measures pursue the aim of limiting concentrated demands for money and, thus, of alleviating the current imbalance in money supply and demand. The measures are evident in restricting the provision of credit, in increasing the cost of money for Czechoslovak currency, in increasing interest rates, and in restricting access to foreign currency.

Another point on the agenda was a report on the results of an International Monetary Fund mission to the CSFR and on the policy in guaranteeing foreign resources to support our economic reform. As I. Kocarnik stated, instead of granting us $400 million, the IMF leadership has promised a sum roughly three times this amount in view of the impact on the CSFR of the Persian Gulf crisis and the collapse in the CEMA market. One result of the IMF mission's negotiations is an economic program for the CSFR in which we will undertake to fulfill specific measures. For example, in the sphere of the state's financial management, the size of the CSFR's budget surplus will be determined.

Contents of 1991 State Budgets Outlined

AU0812202890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Dec 90 p 2

[Josef Lunak report: "Apropos the Financial Management of the Republics and the Federation"]

[Text] Following the earlier rounds of dramatic negotiations in the Financial Council and the Economic Council as well as at the meeting involving the three prime ministers and three finance ministers, the Federal Government discussed and approved a draft state budget for the federation and made note of an analysis of the contents of the state and public budgets for 1991.

The blueprint for the 1991 state and public budgets was developed in accordance with the new budget regulations and in order to guarantee that it functions in an anti-inflationary manner, it proceeds from the following principles:

—reducing the tax burden on enterprises while, at the same time, limiting subsidies for the economic sphere;
—limiting the range of redistribution processes both among the state budgets and the enterprise sector as well as within the budget system;
—supporting development and strengthening private enterprise;
—eliminating the detachment of individual price ranges by consolidating turnover tax rates;
—creating a surplus for the state budgets.

While adhering to these principles, it is expected that in 1991 the overall revenue of the state and public budgets will increase by 6.7 percent, especially as a consequence of the growth in turnover tax whose share in the budget should increase from 21.3 percent in the budget approved for 1990 to 32.7 percent of total revenue in the 1991 draft budget. As a consequence of reducing the rate of levies on profits by 10 points, the proportion of levies and economic sphere taxes in overall revenue will fall from 45.4 percent in 1990 to 35 percent in 1991.

As far as budgetary expenditures are concerned, the population's social consumption will increase from 48.2 percent to 57.7 percent, particularly as a result of the introduction of a compensatory allowance and the increase in expenditure on education, health care, and culture. The restrictions on expenditure contained in the state budgets are oriented, first and foremost, toward the enterprise sector (the proportion of subsidies for economic and cooperative organizations will decline from 14.8 percent of overall expenditure in 1990 to 11.9 percent in 1991, for defense these will decline from seven percent to 5.8 percent, and for housing construction from 2.3 percent to 0.6 percent).

An illustration of anti-inflationary policy is provided by the creation of a surplus for the state budgets amounting to 8 billion korunas; 6.2 billion korunas will come from the state budget for the federation, 1.1 billion korunas from the state budget for the Czech Republic, and 0.7 billion korunas from the state budget for the Slovak Republic.

In harmony with the government's draft law on budget regulations, the system of subsidies from the federation's budget for the republics' budgets is being abolished. The republican budgets will be independent and, on the basis of changes in jurisdiction, will also contain a vital part of income and expenditure with respect to state enterprises which, to date, were elements of the federal budget.

The volume of expenditure contained in the budgets of the Czech and Slovak Republics has been set at a ratio of 1.91:1, that is, at a ratio which guarantees a gradual approximation to the ratio in the number of the republics' inhabitants. Common revenues such as turnover tax, levies from state enterprises, commercial banks, savings banks, and insurance offices, and agricultural taxes will be distributed in the following proportions: the federation—35 percent; the Czech Republic—40 percent; and the Slovak Republic—25 percent. The volume of the federal budget's expenditures, including its reserves and surplus, was agreed upon jointly.

The draft state budget for the federation makes provision for expenditure amounting to 102.4 billion korunas; of this amount, 6.2 billion korunas will be expended on subsidies for economic and cooperative organizations, 2.3 billion korunas on capital for budgetary and nonprofit making organizations, 33.6 billion korunas on social consumption, 26.9 billion korunas on defense, 4.5 billion korunas on security, 2.3 billion korunas on administration, and 1.2 billion korunas on science and technology. In addition, the following expenditures have been worked into the budget: 8.5 billion korunas for unemployment benefits, 7.5 billion korunas for allowances as a consequence of the increased cost of heat, almost 11 billion korunas for the valorization of social security allowances, and 1.5 billion korunas for judicial rehabilitation.

The draft state budget for the federation will be passed on to the Federal Assembly for discussion and approval. Similarly, the republics' state budgets—following discussions in the republican governments—will be submitted to the national councils for discussion and approval.

Reasons for Czechs' 'Capitulation' to Slovaks

AU0812213790 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Dec 90 p 2

[Eva Prochazkova commentary: "Capitulation Out of Reason"]

[Text] In a recent public opinion poll, 65 percent of questioned Czechs expressed the conviction that the Czech Republic pays for Slovakia while 58 percent of Slovaks believed that Slovakia pays for Czechs. What would the poll results be now after the proposed 6 billion korunas surplus of the Czech republican budget "shrunk" to 1.1 billion and the anticipated Slovak deficit turned into a 0.7 billion surplus and after Slovakia was denied "its" tax on gasoline [as a result of the budget talks between the three prime ministers]? As a matter of fact, who is paying for whom?

Until now the federal budget behaved like an uncontrollable feudal lord and the republics were serfs subject to his will. First he took away from the republics everything they earned and then he endowed them with subsidies. It needs to be said that the lord had always been somewhat more generous toward Slovakia because he wanted to bring the republics to an equal level. Hence, some of the resources generated in the more efficient Czech economy (estimated at between 8 and 12 billion korunas annually) were transferred every year for consumption in Slovakia.

In drawing up the budget rules for next year, one proceeded from the following premises: We are one state; the federation will not subsidize the republics; and it will leave their revenues to them. The federation will renounce the role of the feudal lord and, quite to the contrary, the republics will pool their resources to fund the federation.

The first apportionment of the budget ended in a peculiar way: The republics denied the federation any revenues of its own and even the [previously] agreed distribution of the proceeds of the turnover tax and the profit tax (the federal budget was to get 30 percent of the proceeds of each of these taxes) certainly did not suffice to cover the federation's expenditures. By letting themselves be guided by the principle "what is generated here must stay here," the two republics not only turned the

federation into a helpless beggar but, moreover, started to haggle among themselves—about gasoline which is made in Slovakia but taxed in the Czech Republic, about Slovak workers who pay their tax on wages in the Czech Republic but live in Slovakia, about foreign trade enterprises which have their head office in Prague (and consequently pay their taxes here) and about whether the difference amounts to 2 or 4 billion korunas, etc. One therefore started to count again, from the other end.

As is known, the proceeds from the turnover and profit taxes will be distributed according to a changed formula—35 percent for the federation, 40 percent for the Czech Republic, and 25 percent for the Slovak Republic. This changed formula, together with the republics' own revenues, also helped to safeguard a surplus of all three budgets. The expenditures of the republics will henceforth be divided in a ratio of 1.91 [for the Czech Republic] to 1 [for the Slovak Republic]. Well, who is now paying for whom?

The diplomatic answer would be that this solution is still somewhat egalitarian. The objective answer is that the coefficient 2.0 and a ratio of 42 to 21 for revenues would correspond to the actual proportion of the population in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. However, this is much better than in the past (the ratio in 1990 was 1.8 to 1). Moreover, in contrast to all previous years, the growth rate of expenditures in the Czech Republic exceeds the growth rate for Slovakia.

Minister Jezek described the budget agreement as a "political agreement expressed in figures" while Minister Klaus called it "a passable solution for today." The relevant authorities plan to achieve the coefficient 2.0 within two years. In other words, Prague still capitulates before Bratislava a bit but it does so within the framework of one state and one economy and it is therefore no disgrace. This is because a drop in expenditures in Slovakia or a budget deficit there, and the economic and social repercussions thereof, would frustrate all plans for the success of the reform, which is a Czechoslovak reform.

TU's Protest Planned Parliament Session Coverage

AU0712104490 Prague PRACE in Czech 5 Dec 90 p 1

["zr"-signed report: "So Far Television Deaf"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, in the late evening hours, an extraordinary session of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions took place. The trade union leaders present first assessed the work of the strike committee.

Above all, however, they dealt with the results of yesterday's parliamentary session, which dealt with laws that are of utmost importance for the trade unionists. The laws on employment and on collective bargaining adopted by the parliament on Tuesday [4 December] came out quite positively for the trade unions because, except for minor changes, they have the form agreed upon during the tripartite talks of the government, trade unions, and employers.

It seems, however, that the prospects for today, when the Federal Assembly is to adopt an amendment to the labor code, are not as positive for the trade unions' demands, and the most debated issue is involved, namely the participation of the employees in company management. That was one of the reasons for a careful preparation during yesterday's meeting of the General Council members for today's activity. One of their tasks is to ensure a live broadcast from parliament on television and radio. They tried to achieve this earlier but unfortunately they were not successful despite approval by the deputies. The state media remained deaf to the wishes of the trade unionists despite the offer by the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions that it finance this broadcast.

Defense Ministry Management Changes in Progress

LD1212184590 Prague CTK in English 1750 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—Management positions in the Defence Ministry's Social and Humanitarian Affairs Division are being re-staffed mainly with reactivated officers and civilian experts, said Deputy Defence Minister for Culture and Education Antonin Rasek at the Ministry's weekly briefing today.

Also being used to fill these positions are officers from other divisions and former political workers, or "ideologists", who have been confirmed for their new positions following a background investigation. Rasek estimates that these ex-ideologists make up about 20 percent of the new staff. This figure drops to under six per cent when civilians in the Defence Ministry are taken into account.

Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky said that screening of former members of the military counterintelligence service has not yet been concluded. The reason for the delay is that parliamentary deputies have been too busy to examine the findings, explained Dobrovsky. Results of the screening are good so far, he said. 28 per cent of the employees have not passed the examinations.

Dobrovsky noted that foreign military intelligence agencies continue to operate in Czechoslovakia but now they come from different countries. "We do not consider them dangerous, nevertheless we must be aware of them and watch them so they do not become a danger", said Dobrovsky. For the time being the future of Czechoslovakia's own military intelligence service is not clear, he added.

Trust in Government's Social Policy Surveyed

AU0812190090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Dec 90 p 3

[Marek Boguszak article from the Group for Independent Social Analysis: "Little Trust in Social Policy"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In the near future many people could get into a situation where they will be unable to take care of themselves and their families without outside assistance. In its November survey the Group for Independent Social Analysis inquired whether people trust the government to help them in such a situation. Only nine percent of our citizens have complete trust in our social policy, while 37 percent "rather trust" it, 39 percent "rather distrust" it, and 15 percent of the population distrust it completely. The differences between the republics are relatively minor. [passage omitted]

Training Nuclear Reactor Begins Production

AU0712222290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] A training nuclear reactor went into operation at the Czech College of Technology in Prague. The Czechoslovak-manufactured reactor, called VR-1 and code named "Vrabec" [sparrow], will be used in the training of university students and specialists for the Czechoslovak nuclear power industry, as well as for research and educational purposes. Its operation supposedly poses no risk to the surrounding environment.

First Supply of Iranian Crude Oil Arrives

LD0812224890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Summary] The first supply of Iranian crude oil reached Czechoslovakia via Rijeka in Yugoslavia on 7 December. The quantity will amount to 140,000 tonnes of oil, and all of it should reach Tupa works near Sahy in Slovakia in 18 days. It will be mixed 7:3 with Soviet oil there, and then will be processed in the Slovnaft, Kralupy, and Zaluzi works.

Ukrainian Minister Zlenko on Joint Relations

AU0712102290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko by Branislav Janik; place and date not given: "Neighbors, Partners, and Friends"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Fifty-two year old Anatoliy Maksimovich Zlenko has been a professional diplomat for 23 years. For a long time he was working as the permanent representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic at UNESCO in Paris. His English, French and Spanish are perfect. He is the first Ukrainian foreign minister democratically elected after long discussions in the commissions of the Ukrainian parliament. He has been foreign minister for four months. His first trip abroad was his visit to Czechoslovakia. Before he left, we asked him for an interview.

[Janik] What is your concept for Ukrainian foreign policy under the new conditions?

[Zlenko] I think that the policy should change. I am following up on our need to actively integrate ourselves into the European process. Democratic processes allow us to look differently at the forms, methods, and approaches used in foreign policy. As a pragmatist, I have begun to push for a new orientation of our ministry after I have been installed in the function. The Ukraine is a founding member of the UN, a member of 15 international organizations, and of more than 60 international bodies. While participating in multilateral forms of cooperation through these organs, we also want, in particular, to actively develop bilateral forms of cooperation.

[Janik] Does your visit to our country fit these plans? What place does the CSFR, or the Slovak Republic, have in your new foreign policy?

[Zlenko] Yes, my visit logically fits the plans. Czechoslovakia, our neighbor, represents one of the priorities in our foreign policy. With its 52,000,000 inhabitants and being five times larger than the CSFR, the Ukraine has something to offer to such a respectable partner. I explained our position to Minister Dienstbier during our extensive talks, during our meeting with President Havel, and, in Bratislava, we informed in detail Mr. Meciar and Mr. Knazko about our new approach. We are exceptionally interested in developing relations with Slovakia.

[Janik] How do you see their future?

[Zlenko] As very promising. We want, on both sides, to expand our existing relations. Prime Minister Meciar suggested that we exchange delegations. I am going to inform our government about it. It is in our interests that this happen as soon as possible. We want to speak in detail about specific cooperation in economy, culture, science, technology, etc. We believe that now, when we have got rid of all ideology in our relations, the time is ripe for these relations to become neighborly and friendly relations of two equal partners. We would like to talk about concluding a new agreement on trade and economic cooperation and about other aspects of our cooperation. During the talks, more points of common interest will certainly appear.

[Janik] Recently, not only in the Western press, but also, for instance, in ZAKARPATSKAYA PRAVDA—the paper of the Oblast Soviet and of the Communist Party—demands have appeared for reestablishing an autonomous republic of Carpathian Ruthenia, or even for its reunification with Czechoslovakia. What is your opinion about it?

[Zlenko] The Ukraine is among the foremost proponents of the democratization process in the USSR. The reality is that these processes do not take place in an absolutely unequivocal manner. In our pluralistic parliament there is the opposition—and even former political prisoners—

and deputies from various political coalitions. It is a true reflection of our wide political spectrum. In the Ukraine, where anyone is allowed to express his opinion, the situation is also complicated. We are aware of the signals you have mentioned, yet I am stressing that we do not have any official information about the will of this region to establish an autonomous unit or to join Czechoslovakia.

[Janik] Internal problems in the USSR, of not only political, but also of economic nature, are well known. Is the Ukraine a well stabilized country in this respect?

[Zlenko] We really do have great problems, yet I believe that the government and parliament are capable of securing the stability of the state. We can see the examples of gradual consolidation, for instance, in the adoption of the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine, or in the law on economic sovereignty.

[Janik] Thank you for the interview.

Coal Imports Made Necessary by Failing Output

AU0812184890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Ostrava 'Owes' 383,000 Tonnes of Coal"]

[Excerpts] In November the miners of the Ostrava-Karvina coal mines fell 31,000 tonnes short of planned deliveries to consumers of their coal. Since the beginning of the year they are 383,000 tonnes of coal in arrears. [passage omitted]

The present situation in the Ostrava area is somewhat paradoxical. To meet the requirements of electric power stations in the area, which lies on top of the richest deposit of bituminous coal in the CSFR, it will be necessary to import this year 50,000 tonnes of bituminous coal dust from Poland at a cost of $2 million. Imports of fuel from Poland are to increase to 250,000 tonnes next year.

Assembly Expected To Pass Human Rights Charter

LD1212152190 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—The observance of human rights is together with introducing market economy and pluralistic democracy a prior prerequisite for Czechoslovakia's entry into the European Community, Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Miklosko said here today.

Miklosko told a press conference that in the coming days the Czechoslovak parliament is expected to approve the charter of basic human rights and freedoms whose draft has been debated by the Czech and Slovak parliaments.

This document, which other Czechoslovak laws will follow up, was inspired by the European Agreement on Human Rights and Freedoms, the European Charter of Social Rights and also other documents of Czechoslovak civic initiatives such as Charter 77, and the Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS).

Miklosko said the political, economic and ecological climate in Czechoslovakia was devastated to an extent that the return to morals and fundamental principles will not be easy. Human rights are not being violated but they are depreciated wherever there is violence, robbery or devastation of nature.

The press meeting touched on the fate of villages in the Chernobyl area and the transfer of their originally Czech inhabitants to Czechoslovakia, which concerns about 1,000 people. The issue is to be debated in the federal parliament before Christmas.

A conference on the observance of human rights in Central and Eastern Europe is being prepared for next year. Prague is seeking to be host to a world congress on human rights in 1993.

Students Union Seeks Dialogue on Expulsion Order

AU0912153790 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 6 Dec 90 p 3

["(ZC)"-signed report: "The International Students Union Does Not Want To Leave Prague"]

[Text] G. Michaelides, secretary general of the International Students Union [MSS], stated in an interview with CTK yesterday that the MSS is prepared to hold discussions with any member of the Czechoslovak Government about its decision to end MSS activities in Czechoslovakia. The CSFR Government decided to end MSS activities as well as activities by the International Union of Journalists [MON] on 22 November with the proviso that the measures must be implemented no later than 30 June 1991. In the government's opinion, the MSS and MON are currently being subjected to criticism on account of their considerable affinity to the leading structures of the former communist regime. The MSS secretary general pointed out that criticism of former Czechoslovak representatives in the MSS should not be transferred to the MSS as a whole since the union represents the views of 110 organizations from 108 countries. Apparently, the MSS is now conducting a constructive dialogue on mutual relations with almost all the student organizations in the CSFR.

Radioactive Waste Dump Discovered in Resort Area

AU0712222190

[Editorial Report] Several Czech dailies on 4 and 5 December carry reports on an unprotected radioactive-waste dump in a pit of the Kozel quarry on the left bank of Berounka River near Srbsko.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 4 December on page 1, under the headline "Chernobyl in Czech Kars," publishes an 800-word article on the topic by Jan Bauer. According to him, radioactive waste from the Nuclear Research Institute in Rez and from the

national enterprise Leciva [Medical Drugs] was dumped here with permission from the District Hygienic Station from 1959 to 1963. Bauer's informant claims, however, that "some of the barrels were placed in the pit in the 1970's." The only warning, according to Bauer, is a sign with the yellow disc. "Among the substances in the dump are cobalt 60, strontium 90, and cesium 137." The article concludes by decribing the area as a popular holiday resort.

It is followed by a CTK release promising that all approaches to the quarry will be immediately secured, and a proposal for a definitive solution to the problem must be submitted to the district hygienist by 31 January 1991.

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 5 December on page 3 publishes a 350-word report on the same dump by Jana Schillingova. She elaborates on the contamination and quotes readings of 122.9 Beckuerel [Bq] per liter of water as early as 1984, while the highest limit acceptable by Czechoslovak standards is 1 Bq per liter.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 5 December on pages 1 and 5 publishes an 800-word report on the topic. It specifies that the dump contains more than 2,000 barrels of waste, and describes the emergency measures taken by the authorities to protect the public. According to the report, the pit was walled in and the case is being investigated by the police.

Czech Government Discusses Agricultural Reform

AU0812184790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Dec 90 p 1

["(ST)"-signed report: "Landowners Have Precedence"]

[Text] The Czech Government considered a St. Nicholas Day package of legislative proposals, particularly federal laws, at its meeting yesterday. The specification of economic reform within the agriculture and food industry spheres as well as the regulations for providing subsidies were also at the center of its attention. The Czech Republic draft state budget has earmarked 7.4 billion korunas for agriculture.

Of this sum, 27 percent is intended to support privatization, the transition to economic leasing, and so on; 64 percent is intended for the restructuring of production; and just under nine percent is intended for the development of science and information technology. The budget also reckons with a market regulation fund amounting to 5.1 billion korunas plus 1 billion korunas in reserves to protect agriculture from the still monopolistic food industry. Through the medium of this fund meat, milk, and wheat should be bought for a guaranteed price with a sufficient level of profit and then sold to the food processing industry in accordance with demand. It is envisaged that this system will come into operation as of 1 April for meat, as of 1 May for milk, and as of 1 June for cereals. However, an overall decline in the demand for foodstuffs is envisaged. At the moment, there is a reduced interest in supplies of milk for the first quarter of next year, in some places by 40 percent, and there are problems in marketing butcher meat.

Czech Agriculture Minister Bohumil Kubat, who was the main player at the subsequent news conference, stated that it was incorrect and unnecessary to increase the price of foodstuffs in July. The policy on subsidies should not lead to a situation whereby products will become unsellable. He also discussed a new and initiative draft law on land which differs considerably from the original federal draft. Its aim is not to break up agricultural cooperatives—an issue which had been foisted on it—but is to give people freedom to decide. According to the draft law, land should be given people who at one point had ownership rights to it. This also includes those people who today live in the city and who do not work on the land.

Church Walks Out of Property Settlement Talks

AU0712131290

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 1 December on page 2 carries a 250-word CTK report entitled "Dispute Over Churches Continues." Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 4 December on page 1 carries a 600-word interview with Imrich Belejkanic, director of the Bishop's Office of the Orthodox Church in Presov, by SMENA correspondent Dusan Petrak entitled "Return Made Conditional on Amendment." Both items deal with the latest developments in the dispute between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches in East Slovakia over property issues.

The VEREJNOST report notes that the Orthodox Church has announced that it has "stopped participating in talks with Dr. Adolf Smolik, the Slovak government commissioner, on the settlement of property rights with the Greek Catholic Church." According to the announcement of the Presov Eparchy of the Orthodox Church, its decision is motivated by the fact that "one has started to deal with problem-free villages where the situation has been calm until now, which stirs up unrest among believers." The VEREJNOST report also quotes Anton Tekus, a representative of the Presov bishopric of the Greek Catholic Church, as saying that the Greek Catholic Church "regrets the unconstructive approach taken by representatives of the Orthodox Church. As regards the so-called problem-free villages, the fact is that since 1950 we have been barred access to churches and parish buildings in these villages, despite the fact that—according to the legislative measure of the Slovak National Council of 29 May 1990—they are our property." According to Tekus, the Orthodox Church refuses to accept "joint use" of these churches, proposed by the Greek Catholics, as well as the provision of "alternative premises." Instead, "representatives of the Orthodox Church prefer to have themselves photographed during outdoor services to be able to more effectively influence public opinion."

In the interview with Bratislava SMENA, the place and date of which are not given, Belejkanic discusses the reasons which prompted the Orthodox Church to "walk out" of the talks with the Slovak Government commissioner and the Greek Catholic Church. He says that "the last straw" was the announcement by government commissioner Smolik that the commission would "deal with villages in Humenne district, in which there is a peaceful atmosphere." In one of these villages, Ruska Volova, for example, there is not a single Greek Catholic believer, according to Belejkanic. Nonetheless, all "sacral objects" there are to be handed over to the Greek Catholic Church. Belejkanic suggests that, instead of creating problems where there are not any, Mr. Smolik should tackle the situation in villages "in which the conditions are literally critical." According to Belejkanic, there are many such villages. In Cabiny, for example, Greek Catholic believers threaten to "evict" the Orthodox priest and his family; in many other villages the Greek Catholics have barred Orthodox believers from entering their churches.

Asked about the Orthodox Church's conditions for returning to the talks, Belejkanic says that his church proposes that sacral objects in each village should belong to the church which has a majority there. In the case of its ownership, the Orthodox Church is willing to agree on joint use with the Greek Catholic Church. Besides, the Orthodox Church proposes that the year 1990, and not the year 1950, be used as the starting point for the settlement of property rights between these two churches. Belejkanic concedes that this would require an amendment of the pertinent Slovak National Council legislative measure.

In his concluding remarks, interviewer Petrak warns that in neighboring Ukraine the same conflict has already cost the lives of several Orthodox priests and he appeals to the government "not to let the situation come to a head."

State Secretary Matolcsy Submits Resignation

LD1212155690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] State Secretary Gyorgy Matolcsy has resigned. The leader of the Economic Secretariat of the Prime Minister's Office justified his decision by saying that he does not agree with the present economic political direction. Gyorgy Matolcsy, in answer to a question by NEPSZABADSAG, confirmed that last Friday [7 December] he informed the prime minister in writing about his intention to resign, but that Jozsef Antall has not as yet accepted the resignation.

MDF Officials Resign, Further Changes Expected

LD1212120490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Janos Hollos report; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] According to all the signs, significant changes will be decided at this weekend's session of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] board. Janos Hollos reports:

This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the two acting deputy chairmen, Imre Furman and Sandor Lezsak, bade a ceremonious farewell to representatives of the press. As they said, the party center was not able to fulfil its mission during the period of their leadership; it was not able to turn into a political organizational center, because quite simply, the conditions for this do not exist. As Imre Furman said, there is simply no water for them to swim in. The parties' budget support is so small that it now threatens the multiparty system, to say nothing of the fact that, according to their information, the government this year wants to further reduce this little support. Under such conditions, although they did not reject nomination to the Presidium, they will not accept the office of deputy chairman.

It was also said at the news briefing that nomination for the chairmanship was not accepted by Ferenc Kulin, Huba Kozma, and Zoltan Bogardi, all of whom alluded to other commitments. In spite of this, the Presidium will be expanded from 19 to 21 members, so that they can deal with the tasks that have profilerated to an extraordinary extent. The person of Jozsef Antall was not brought into question anywhere.

Defense Minister Fur Views Army Reorganization

AU1312125990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Dec 90 p 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Irene Szabo; place and date not given: "It Is Forbidden To Enter With Arms—I Do Not Believe in Eternal Peace"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] Public opinion about Lajos Fur has it that he is the only government member who is consistently carrying out the promised restructuring program—namely, the restructuring in the Armed Forces. He is the only minister in the Antall cabinet who is always calm and can also smile. Now that all of Europe is engaged in troops and arms reductions and is preparing for a long peace, and now that the upcoming collapse of the Warsaw Pact's military bloc also questions the existence of NATO, what or whom must Hungary fear?

[Fur] All the people who know me are also aware that I have never been a fighting militarist. During the past six months, however,I had to realize that the aggressive reflexes have not disappeared from the European countries of various development levels. Unfortunately, wars have always been part of man's struggle for existence, the highest order of living species. It would be a good thing, but I do not believe in eternal peace, and I do not trust the infallible politicians who say that a lasting and holy peace will soon emerge in Europe.

[Szabo] Does this mean that you also believe in what Vegetius had said: If you want peace, prepare for war?

[Fur] I believe that one should not leave oneself defenseless, because then it is certain that one will have to defend himself. I think that, without an army, a nation is naked and without proper cover, and this would be a serious risk. I also think that we could not face up to a triumphant battle, but it is our responsibility to put up a sign at our borders, a sign saying that it is forbidden to enter with arms! If we are threatened by aggression, our defense- oriented army should be good enough to contain the intruders for a few days.

[Szabo] Neither NATO nor the Warsaw Pact has ever had a peace plan. Each of them, however, had 1 million soldiers. A rapid reduction in personnel and a new military doctrine—one that gives up the element of attack and does not have any enemy image—are part of the new image of the Hungarian Army. As is well known, however, the new military technology and the elimination of the old one costs a tremendous amount of money. It seems, however, as if the new budget will start a period of seven lean years for the Hungarian Army. You will not receive the hoped-for billions either.

[Fur] For weeks, we have been analyzing and counting to somehow be able to compensate for the 5 billion forints we lack in our budget, by reducing our maintenance expenses. We will decide on a package of measures even before the holidays. Further reduction in personnel is not a proper way because if we let trained officers go, the Hungarian Army might find it impossible to function, and I cannot accept the consequences of such a situation either for the country or, let me be self-important, for history. Look, we can save money on materials and, in the meantime, we will pray that our army barracks do not collapse. Our soldiers must eat and shower, and they also need training. Indeed, in our current economic situation, it seems controversial to build up a new defense system that requires a lot of money. All I can do, therefore, is to establish the framework, together with the

military experts, and with God's will, we will be able to fill up this framework in three to four years' time.

[Szabo] Laymen think that defense is equal to armed forces. Do you also think so?

[Fur] Not at all. The defense of a country in Europe today is a bit more complex than that. What is actually needed for proper defense? A stable domestic economy, a skillful and active foreign policy, and the last thing: internal security and military force. At present, in our case, everything can be said about our economy, except the fact that it is stable. Our foreign policy is obviously strengthening and developing. In connection with this, one should know that the price for our independence is that we are now alone. We must approach everyone and make alliances with everyone: our neighbors, NATO, the devil, and the angel. Besides, the Western states are planning to establish a conflict prevention center for the benefit of security in Europe. We are regularly preparing bilateral military agreements to be signed with our neighbors. We have just initialed such a bilateral agreement with the Romanian defense leadership. As you can see, arms will only be the last in our defense.

[Szabo] Could you tell us what percentage of the national assets do the Hungarian Armed Forces represent?

[Fur] I will be honest and say that I cannot tell that. The last time we evaluated the Army's stock of property was five years ago, and its stood at 180-190 billion forints at the time. This amount, however, does not contain the 100,000 hectares of defense forests, the several thousands of hectares of Army barracks, the weapons, the military technology, and the 60-day defense reserves. The Hungarian Defense Forces, therefore, represent a fantastic chunk of our national property.

[Szabo] In conclusion, would you tell us about your "in-house" popularity? Have the soldiers accepted you?

[Fur] I think that we have mutual luck together. I got into this ministerial position with my sense of duty and responsibility from my smallholder family. I have always had a task that had to be solved. This met with an organization used to orders, discipline, and fulfilling tasks. If the task is clear and there are good partners for it, all we have to do is to consistently solve the task step by step. All I can say to this question is that the soldiers accepted me because there is hardly any difference between my civilian and military sense of duty.

Agricultural Import, Export Statistics Reported

LD1212140890 Budapest MTI in English 1302 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 12, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary's convertible agricultural foreign trade is expected to show a surplus of 950-960 million USD [U.S. dollars] this year, compared to 1.112 billion in 1989, a senior official at the Ministry of Agriculture announced at a conference of experts on Tuesday.

Convertible agricultural exports will be around 1.8 billion USD this year, compared to 1.7 billion last year.

Although the summer dry-spell caused serious losses, the official said sufficient quantities of produce is available for export, owing to a drop in domestic demand, estimated at 4-5 per cent, as living standards have fallen. With more price rises on the way, this trend is expected to continue next year, he said.

With producer prices in the agricultural sector likely to go up by an average 30 per cent next year, the ministry expects consumer prices to rise by between 35 and 40 per cent.

Foreign Trade Balance With Former GDR, USSR

LD1212135890 Budapest MTI in English 1246 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 12, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The rouble export ban the previous Hungarian Government imposed in January, 1990, seems to have achieved its aim, as Hungary's rouble trade balance will probably break even this year. Last year, Hungary had a rouble trade surplus of 500 million roubles, and a current account surplus of 866 million roubles. A balanced rouble account this year was one of stipulations laid down in the stand-by agreement the country concluded with the IMF.

In view of the dollarization of East European trade next year, it is important for Hungary to have as balanced trade as possible with the countries concerned, as any surplus or deficit from the current year will have to be settled in hard currency next year. As per November 30, 1990, Hungary had a rouble trade deficit of 181.2 million, as compared to a surplus of 401.4 million roubles at the same time last year.

Although the overall picture is favourable for Hungary, there are some striking imbalances as regards the former GDR and the Soviet Union. Since, after unification, the former GDR cancelled several Hungarian export contracts, Hungarian exports fell 42 per cent short of last year and amounted to 505 million roubles over the first 11 months of 1990. Hungarian imports from the former GDR grew 3 per cent to 947 million roubles, leaving a trade deficit of 442 million roubles. Until December 31, Hungary and companies of the one-time GDR are settling trade bills in roubles. Since it was agreed that no third country should suffer as a consequence of German unification, Hungarian companies are now putting in for compensation for lost business. The two countries are shortly to discuss the actual form compensation will take.

At the moment, Hungary has a trade surplus of 439 million roubles with the Soviet Union. At the end of November, Hungarian exports were running at 3.242

billion roubles, 19 per cent down on the same time last year, and at 2.803 billion roubles, imports were 20 per cent lower than in November, 1989. The large Hungarian surplus is the result of a drastic cut in Soviet energy deliveries to Hungary. Together with the Hungarian surplus of 800 million roubles brought over from last year, there is now an outstanding amount of 1.2 billion roubles, which the Soviets have agreed to convert into 1.1 billion US dollars using a rate of 92 cents to the rouble. The exact ways and means of settling this bill have yet to be agreed on.

Hungary has already agreed with Poland and Czechoslovakia to settle any outstanding amount run up in bilateral trade in roubles up until the end of March, 1991. Similar agreements are being prepared with other current rouble-trading countries, too.

Antall Bids Farewell to Soviet Army Commander

LD1212171190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group which is leaving Hungary has paid his farewell to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Among those present at the meeting of Colonel General Matvey Burlakov and the Hungarian Prime Minster were Soviet Ambassador Ivan Aboimov and Defense Minister Lajos Fur.

Polish Foreign Minister Continues Visit 12 Dec

LD1212120790 Warsaw PAP in English 1118 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, Dec. 12—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski is continuing talks today in Hungary on the second day of his visit to this country.

This morning, the head of the Polish diplomacy laid flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Heroes Square in Budapest, in honor of those who fell in the struggle for freedom in 1956, as well as at the monument to General Jozef Bem, (a Polish general who served in the Hungarian 1849 rebellion-ed.).

Later today, Skubiszewski will meet with president of the Hungarian Republic Arpad Goncz and meet journalists.

Friendship Society Sends Letter to Romania

AU1212092390 Budapest MTI in English 1921 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 10 Dec (MTI)—The Hungarian-Romanian Friendship Society, set up in January of this year as a result of the Romanian revolution, has addressed an open letter to Romanian President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman.

The letter terms as shocking and alarming the fact that Vasilie Vacaru, head of the Romanian National Salvation Front's Senate Committee, has initiated criminal proceedings against Reform Bishop Laszlo Tokes and Transylvanian Hungarian Author Andras Suto, accusing them of antistate and antinational activities.

The ultranationalist and chauvinistic manifestations of the past nine months are also disappointing and disquieting. Certain circles resolutely and systematically aim at detrimental discrimination that surpasses even that experienced during the 25-years of the Ceausescu dictatorship, inciting hatred and increasingly brutal atrocities against the defenceless minorities, states the letter.

The Hungarian-Romanian Friendship Society justly supposes that the Romanian people, which so desired freedom, will not deny this to the Hungarians, who have coexisted with them for centuries, or to other minorities either. The letter voices the hope that the number of those who seek eternal conflict has, and will continue to dwindle. To these people, the letter states: the time when highly powerful fascist or communist dictators were able to treat and toss about peoples as playthings, causing immeasurable suffering and destruction, has passed.

Walesa Swears To Guard Republic as President

LD1112180190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Lech Walesa has today taken part in a ceremonial mass at Jasna Gora. Andrzej Kotulewski was in Czestochowa.

[Kotulewski] Welcoming Lech Walesa, Father Jan Nalazkowsk, general of the Pauline order, handed the president-elect a Marian triptych, telling him at the same time that every day at 1500 masses for the homeland and its president will be celebrated. During the mass Lech Walesa took an oath.

[Begin Walesa recording] At this historic moment, I stand before you here, at the source of my faith. Taking the office of president of the most enlightened Polish Republic by the will of the nation, and being aware of my responsibility toward God, the nation, history, and my conscience, I hereby swear: to steadfastly guard the nation's dignity, the sovereignty and security of the state; to be guided by justice and love for all citizens of our homeland; to faithfully maintain the rights of the Republic; to devote myself undivedly to the service of the nation and the homeland. This I swear—so help me God. [end recording]

Social Democracy Party Reacts to Walesa Victory

LD1212080590 Warsaw PAP in English 2331 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland issued a statement today which reads in part:

Lech Walesa has been elected president of the Republic of Poland. We did not support him during the election campaign as we did not support Stanislaw Tyminski.

Maintaining our right to ideological identity, our opinions and criticism, we welcome the election of the president with respect as demanded by principles of democracy.

We trust that the president will symbolize the majesty of the Republic, that he will unite and not divide citizens, for the interest of Poland is above political divisions. President Wojciech Jaruzelski served in his office in tune with that principle which surely will be appreciated by history.

The continuation of reforms demands cooperation. We are ready for it in tune with the values of the left.

National Party Criticizes Election Process

LD1212080390 Warsaw PAP in English 2321 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—The National Party in a statement issued today said that it takes a critical stand towards the procedure of calling and the form of holding the first general presidential elections in the Republic of Poland.

The party also stated that: (The elections) undermined the logical legal and constitutional order and caused an excessive and unnecessary cost to the state's treasury, depreciated the prestige of the presidential office and have deepened emotional divisions in our society. They also reflected the one-sided dependence of mass media and were a show of its manipulatory and destructive influence.

Nonetheless, we notice in the person of President Lech Walesa a chance for a vital change in orientation, especially in the cadre policy at the highest levels of authority and we want to believe that it will be a policy serving the interest of the Polish nation.

Government Activity Report Filed With Sejm

LD1312002690 Warsaw PAP in English 2338 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—A report on the activity of the government between Sept. 12 last year and Dec. 10 this year was filed with the Sejm today. The 223-page report consists of two parts, the first concerning the restructuring of the state, economy and foreign policy and the second including reports by individual ministers.

In the report the government stresses that the restructuring of state institutions took place in all domains. Reforms were based on a new idea of the state, abandoning the concept of an omnipresent and omnipotent state and building an effective, functional and democratic one in which the constitutional order determines the activitiy of all its authorities and bodies.

The Sejm which received the resignation of the cabinet of Tadeusz Mazowiecki wanted to obtain a report on its activity before examining the resignation. The prime minister's letter asking for recalling the government will be on the agenda of a sitting of the Sejm, to start on Thursday [13 December].

Sejm Opens Session With State Budget Discussion

LD1312100990 Warsaw PAP in English 0910 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—The Sejm opened its today's meeting with the discussion on the state budget. The government's resignation will be reviewed on Friday [14 December] as deputies want more time to familiarize themselves with the government's report which was sent to the Sejm last Tuesday.

Today's agenda provides for the first reading of four government bills concerning the concepts of socio-economic policy for the next year, the budget law for 1991, concepts of monetary policy and government programme of privatization.

Geremek Discusses New Constitution, Presidency

AU1112133990 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 5 Dec 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Sejm Constitutional Commission and the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, by Janusz Grochowski; place and date not given: "The Highest Office"]

[Text] [Grochowski] There is a dispute in progress about whether this or the next Sejm should adopt the new constitution, and then there is the question of the work that is being done on the document itself, and that is something that I would like to ask you about, as it appears to be being passed over in silence.

[Geremek] Essentially, we are close to completing the task that the Sejm set us. The three sub-commissions, which dealt with defining a model of the state and the place of the leading organs within it; human and civil rights; and the socioeconomic system; have completed their work. We are now reviewing the work as a whole. I think that the results are interesting.

On the other hand, the problem of passing the constitution really does arouse controversy. The constitution is not only a symbolic act, but also a great legislative undertaking, which should be accorded legitimacy by society. However, the current Sejm is to some extent the product of a political contract, and thus there are doubts about whether it has the right to adopt a new constitution.

[Grochowski] So, it should be left to the deputies in the next Sejm?

[Geremek] I think that we should impart legitimacy to the constitution by means of a national referendum, and the next Sejm should approve it. The present Sejm should draw up the constitution. However, this means that certain conditions have to be satisfied, and I do not know whether that will be possible. The constitution cannot be the subject of a compromise, because it has to provide a cohesive model of the state and a clear philosophy of human and civil rights. I am not convinced that the present Sejm is in a position to accept this kind of idea, but it will decide what comes of the results of the Constitutional Commission's work. A different solution would be to submit the draft constitution to a newly elected Constituent Assembly, a parliament that does not need to have two chambers and is elected for a period of one or two years, and whose basic task would be to approve a new constitution.

[Grochowski] We are in the midst of presidential elections. What place and powers would the members of the commission like to accord the head of state?

[Geremek] What we should consider above all is whether the president should be elected by means of universal suffrage or whether he should be elected by parliament.

[Grochowski] It is surprising that we should have to return to this issue, because no more than a few months ago, the direct election of a president was being called for and such an election has finally come about.

[Geremek] The way in which this issue is settled will determine the powers that the president has. This is something that is forgotten, because President Jaruzleski has not made use of these powers, although those powers are very extensive.

Yet they should be an offshoot of the principle that we are creating a parliamentary democracy. It is particularly important that parliament be given a special place in the functioning of the state during the period of transition from communist rule to democracy. This would be assisted by following the model of the German Constitution and introducing a constructive no confidence vote that limits the possibilities that parliament has for making frequent changes to the government, and this gives the Council of Ministers greater autonomy. The president would thus be assigned the role of protecting the Constitution, of being a great arbiter in political and social disputes, of being the highest representative of the state, but not that of head of the executive arm of government, which he is in the United States and France. This issue was the subject of lengthy discussions in the Constitutional Commission, and we will present certain alternative solutions to the Sejm.

I think that this outline model of the state is a uniform and functional proposal that provides each person in every great organ of state extensive powers in a specific area and, at the same time, it guarantees the independence of the judiciary. The government has extensive powers of government and in administering the budget, and the president has extensive powers in shaping foreign policy....

[Grochowski].... and, undoubtedly, in defense policy?

[Geremek] Yes, but as head of state. Finally, the Sejm has a key role in creating and improving the law, although the president could veto laws passed by the Sejm. Parliament would decide about the budget and would control its implementation by the government.

[Grochowski] The only question is whether the new president will want to agree to having his powers restricted in this way?

[Geremek] This is a question of fundamental importance and one can only hope that just as parliament will be guided by the state interest in adopting the constitution, the president will also accept the state interest as a fundamental principle and will subordinate himself to it. However, it is of course obvious that a conflict may arise.

[Grochowski] Precisely, without excluding that possibility, what constitutional means does the president have for influencing parliament and vice versa?

[Geremek] The present constitution gives the president the right to dissolve parliament if the following three circumstances arise: parliament is unable to approve a budget or appoint a government within a three-month

period or it passes a law that curbs the president's power or prevents him from being able to exercise those powers.

On the other hand, parliament's powers in relation to the president are limited. They only come into play in the event that the president should violate the Constitution or is to appear before the Tribunal of State for committing high treason.

[Grochowski] It could also be added that these powers can be exercised if the president is unable to discharge his duties for health reasons.

[Geremek] The basis being a statement made by the president himself or a medical pronouncement.

[Grochowski] Let us leave the provisions of the Constitution to the realities of our political life. What is your assessment of the situation that arisen following the first round of the presidential elections?

[Geremek] We have a serious political crisis on our hands. The appearance of Mr. Tyminski was a luxury for Polish democracy, and his success attests to the imperfect nature of our democracy. How does its imperfection manifest itself? The presidential system and, in particular, the election of a president by universal suffrage assumes that there are political parties in existence and that democratic institutions are functioning. Poland, on the other hand, finds itself in a situation in which political parties are still to be formed, and the legacy of the past 45 years is the devastation of political culture. Nevertheless, I believe that society will make a wise choice, and although I continue to believe that Tadeusz Mazowiecki was the best candidate for the office of president, I now support Lech Walesa.

[Grochowski] Is it just the legacy of four decades of communism? After all, we have had barely eight years of real democracy in our history.

[Geremek] Please do not think that these shortcomings of Polish democracy, the problems that emerged during the campaign are something peculiar to us.

[Grochowski] It is true that similar phenomena can be found in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and in Bulgaria in particular.

[Geremek] However, our strength is that the great threats that have emerged are dealt with through politics, and not in the streets, or under the threat of civil war, and without demonstrations. The political elites should consider how this situation arose.

[Grochowski] Why do you think this situation has arisen?

[Geremek] What I have to say will be perceived as being one-sided, but I am convinced that it is the product of the philosophy of this supposed acceleration. It has led to a political crisis that has blocked a genuine acceleration of economic reforms that are of key importance for the future of the country. If it had not been for the philosophy of acceleration and rival demagogy and populism, we would have been able to have another year of the social contract that guaranteed the existence of what is a divided "Solidarity," but one that is capable of acting in a united fashion. It would have provided time for consolidating reforms, while checking hyperinflation and overcoming shortages, we would also have been able to tackle the recession and commence privatization. If confidence in the government had been maintained and there was hope that we would obtain results by following this difficult path, this would then lead to the formation of a normal political life, and we would be in a completely different situation. However, I do not think that one should dramatize things. Of course, conclusions have to be drawn from this lesson, but the elections will be over and will be faced with the same problems that we faced before them in addition to those produced by presidential campaign.

[Grochowski] It is not the president himself who has to grapple with these problems, regardless of who he might be. One cannot believe in wonders.

[Geremek] These problems affect all of society. However, in talking about the special responsibility of political elites, then I would like to stress the question of how they relate to public opinion. The election results attest to the insufficient development of democratic institutions and the weak influence of elites on the broad mass of citizens. A price is being exacted by the faults in government information policy and its inadequate contacts with frustrated groups, which has resulted in these frustrations becoming the subject of demagogy.

[Grochowski] Do you think that the elites have drawn conclusions from what has happened?

[Geremek] I am not sure of that, although there are some positive signs. I consider these positive signs to include the fact that Lech Walesa has approached the head of the government, his rival, and the circles that form an opposition toward him, because it shows that there is an awareness that a policy of dividing does not serve the interests of the country well.

[Grochowski] Lech Walesa also telephoned you. Could you perhaps reveal what you talked about?

[Geremek] As is normally the case with conversations between two people, what they discuss is their own affair. All I can say is that I expressed the hope that Lech Walesa would win the elections and if I can help him in any way I will do so. Nothing can change my feelings of friendship, which go back ten years, toward Lech Walesa or the basic criticism that I have made of Lech Walesa as a candidate for the presidency. I can only hope that he will be a better president than presidential candidate campaigning for the highest office in the state.

[Grochowski] Thank you.

Solidarity Congress Proposed for Late January

LD1112142590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] In connection with the Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa's election as president, the Solidarity National Audit Commission has proposed a motion to convene an extraordinary congress of delegates, as only the congress can elect a new chairman. It should be held within the next three months. A quick organizing of the congress is being discussed at the meeting in Gdansk as well as working out its agenda. The second half of January has been considered the best date for the congress.

According to members of Solidarity's National Commission the congress should decide, among other things, on Solidarity's participation in the parliamentary elections.

Government Agreement on Polish Workers Signed

AU1112151190 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 11 Dec 90 p 8

["sm"-signed report: "Job Opportunities for Guest Workers, Cross-Border Commuters, and Students"]

[Text] Warsaw—The number of Polish workers who are employed in the FRG will considerably increase. This provision is made in a government agreement signed by Labor Minister Norbert Bluem and his Polish counterpart Jacek Kuron.

Because of the agreement and the legal changes that will be made when the new law concerning aliens comes into force in early 1991, there will be the following opportunities to employ Polish employees in Germany:

—On an annual average, 35,170 Polish employees can be employed for contracts for work and services in the FRG. This quota is distributed under a general clause for 21,670 contractors for work and services; 10,000 more than before, while it is planned to employ up to 10,000 people in the building trade and up to 1,000 people as insulation fitters.

In addition, 5,000 people can be employed in labor and service contracts between Polish employers and German small and medium-sized craftsmen's and industrial enterprises with annual sales of up to 10 million Deutsche marks or up to 65,000 employees. From 1991 to 1993, 500 people can be employed as restorers and 8,000 can be employed in the building trade.

—Up to 1,000 Polish employees aged 18 to 35 years who have completed their vocational training and have a basic knowledge of German will be permitted to work for German employers for up to 18 months, in order to improve their technical proficiency and the knowledge of the language.

—As of 1991, with priority being given to Germans, an unlimited number of Polish employees will be provided with the opportunity to accept employment as cross-border commuters (daily commuters).

—As part of a procedure on which the labor administrations of the countries agreed, Polish employees can be admitted as seasonal workers for work for up to three months within one year, without any limits and restrictions in certain economic sectors (so far only agriculture), if there are no domestic applicants.

—According to existing job opportunities, an unlimited number of Polish students will be able to get a holiday job in Germany in the future. So far, their number has been limited to 300 students.

—Moreover, the declaration contains the promise that Polish employees who are still employed in the new laender as part of cooperation agreements between firms on the basis of the former GDR's foreign trade agreements can continue their work until the end of 1991, without being counted in the quotas. About 17,000 employees are affected by this regulation.

Sejm Deputies Discuss Warsaw Pact Destiny

LD1212203490 Warsaw PAP in English 1919 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—During the three rounds of talks in Prague, Sofia and Warsaw, plenipotentiaries of the governments of the six states agreed upon the liquidation of most of military and political bodies of the Warsaw Treaty, leaving only consultative bodies. This has not yet been approved by the heads of state because a summit of Warsaw Treaty states is being constantly postponed at the Soviet Union's request, participants in a meeting of the Sejm foreign affairs and national defence committees said today.

Sejm deputies adopted recommendations for the government on further negotiations to liquidate the Treaty's military structures. The Sejm committees expect that, taking into account the opportunities to dissolve the treaty, the government will negotiate bilateral relations, based on respect for the principles of sovereignty and security, with members of this treaty. The committees also expect the question of transit of Soviet troops from Germany via Poland and linking it to the swiftest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland to be solved under a treaty.

The foreign affairs committee today supported two candidacies for ambassadors. Franciszek Morawski, doctor of agricultural sciences and director of the central inspectorate of standardization at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, is to assume a diplomatic mission in one of the countries of Western Europe. Career diplomat Ryszard Baturo is to become ambassador in the Far East.

Developments in TU-Government Dispute Reported

Suceava, Botosani Drivers Do Not Strike

AU1212165590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1624 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—Public transport is normal in Suceava and Botosani counties. The drivers of the relevant enterprises there did not join in the general strike called by the Drivers' Trade Unions.

The employees of the vehicle parks in the two counties believe the strikers pursue political rather than union claims.

Negotiations Resume 12 Dec

AU1212150790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1436 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—Wednesday [12 December] morning the talks opened the previous day were resumed at the Government's Headquarters between a government team and representatives of the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania.

The parties have been discussing salaries, drivers' licences and the activity of construction workers.

Talks End; Strike Halts Temporarily

AU1212205590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1821 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] [Announcer] Here we present a television statement made by Mr. Miron Mitrea, leader of the Drivers Trade Union of Romania.

[Mitrea] On this occasion, I would like to express thanks for the possibility granted to me to inform all members of the Drivers Trade Union of Romania—who are currently on strike—about the results of the negotiations we have held for two days at the Presidency and at the government headquarters.

During these negotiations, as you well know, yesterday it was decided that the draft laws that were submitted to the Parliament by the government, and did not receive the trade union's approval, would be discussed again. Furthermore, we can inform you that we have already received these draft laws; therefore, we can express an opinion about them.

Likewise, after the discussions we held today with the governmental commission which was established especially for negotiations with the Drivers' Trade Union on the issue of petitions submitted to the government, the following government communique, which I am going to read now, was issued:

The first communique, which is a communique signed by the Joint Commission set up by the government on this occasion and by Minister Liviu Stoica, state secretary, includes the following:

1. Salaries of the members of Drivers' Trade Union in Romania will be negotiated between representatives of the federation and representatives of the employers' organization, on the date starting immediately after the issue of the present communique;

2. A central team was established—through the order of the prime minister—to organize the activity of automobile transportation into commercial societies or autonomous companies, which will solve in an operative way all problems which derive from this action, including the submission of documentation for approval to the government. Representatives of the Drivers' Trade Union of Romanian are included in the central team.

3. In the construction assembly units, which are not engaged in an activity, the means of transportation will be made available for other activities. If personnel problems emerge in the respective units, these problems will be examined by the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania together with the government commission.

The second communique concerns a document concluded between the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania and the police department, the Ministry of Interior, which stipulates the following: As of 15 December, the driving licenses of professional drivers are considered as documents of professional qualification.

At the same time, issues referring to the way of making use of the automobile by each driver separately or to possibility of making use of the automobiles of enterprises which have a certain number of automobiles by a group of drivers or by the employees of the respective auto-base, are still to be discussed.

Examining this situation, the Presidium of the Drivers' Trade Union decided to temporarily halt the strike as of 24:00 hours tonight for the period of the negotiations.

In case the negotiations will yield good results, the strike will not be resumed.

TU Leader Pleased With Talks

AU1212205690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1943 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—At the close of the negotiations between the government and the Drivers' Union leaders, Bulei Ciprian, deputy chairman of the Union's Bucharest Branch, stated to ROMPRES: "With reference to what was negotiated today with the government by the Union's delegation, headed by its chairman Miron Mitrea, we have stated our satisfaction in a first stage at what is recorded as endorsed in the communique released. Let us see the concrete materialization of these rights obtained. The strike has been called off provisionally, for the population not to suffer from shortage of food, fuel. In this period we keep waiting for the other points we still have to settle, as well as the application of the points already obtained, promised under the signature of Prime Minister Petre Roman and State Minister Aurel Stoica.

As of December 12, 24 hrs, the drivers' activity will proceed in its normal way. The highways will be deblocked and the cars taken to garages.

Drivers Retain Licenses With Limitations

AU1212202190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The Police Department and the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania announces that the driving license, which, in case of professional drivers is considered an document of professional qualification, can be retained only insofar as it is included in the previous communique of the police department and of the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania, issued on 30 October 1990 [as heard].

Students Continue Strike 12 Dec

AU1212215090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2111 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—The political strike of the Timisoara students, backed by part of the teaching staff, continues. The claims are political in nature and almost identical with the ones of the recent students' conference held at Buzias. On the second day of strike, Wednesday, December 12, students pickets are still present at the entrance doors of institutes and amphitheaters, blocking them. Access is free only in the amphitheaters where video cassettes are shown, especially of the events over June 13-15. On the first day of strike parents, students and professors came to some newspapers' offices to protest against force being used to prevent students from attending courses and other activities. Many students took their luggage and went home until school activity is resumed.

Iasi Students Begin Strike 12 Dec

AU1212215190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2114 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—The students of Iasi's "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University are on strike, starting Wednesday, December 12, at the appeal of Timisoara's Student Convention.

The claims, political in nature, postered on big panels, ask inter alia for the immediate resignation of President Iliescu and of the government, the invalidation of mandates of certain parliamentarians, the dismissal of generals and military staff responsible for the December 1989 crimes and their putting to trial. Some other claims ask for the purification, supervised by the Parliament, of the judiciary, the prosecuting bodies, the police, the Army, the Romanian Bureau of Investigation and the staff of the Romanian Television, who was used by the dictatorship, the putting to trial of those guilty of the postwar disaster of Romania, the reactivation of the officers members of the Committee for Democratizing the Army (CADA).

Wednesday, December 12, in the morning, courses and seminars, lab and practical activities were held, at the other higher learning institutes in Iasi, including the assistance of the hospitalized sick.

Ploiesti, Constanta Students Strike 12 Dec

AU1212221990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2138 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—The students of Ploiesti Oil and Gas Institute went on a general strike for an indefinite period of time. The teaching staff are, they too, on a cat walk strike. They come only to the activities attended by students. The participants in the meeting organized in the Institute's auditorium ask for the resignation of President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman, of the whole government, the invalidation of the mandate of the corrupt or incompetent parliamentarians, responsible for the current disastrous situation of Romania. Anti governmental and anti presidential slogans were chanted.

The students of Constanta's Merchant Navy Institute adhered, they too, to Timisoara student convention and went on general strike. The Institute's rector and secretary are of the opinion that not all the students are on strike, and their professors continue to come to courses.

Courses are normally held at the other higher learning institutes, the Naval Academy included.

'Dozens' Rally in University Square

AU1212222090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2140 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—Wednesday, December 12, in the afternoon, some dozens of persons were gathered in Bucharest University Square heatedly discussing problems of interest for the country's life. It is worthy of note that the portrait of the dictator toppled on December 22, 1989 was posted in the square.

No incidents were reported. The police intervention was not necessary.

Group of Students Protests Strikes

AU1312151190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1422 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—An appeal sent to the Parliament and the Ministry of Education and Science by a group of Bucharest students reads as follows:

To be a student means to acquire knowledge along the years, in order to become a genuine intellectual.

To achieve this goal, every student and pupil must be willing to enrich their knowledge through individual efforts and, especially, by attending classes. Starting from this concept, we deem it unacceptable that, as long

as the state provides free-of charge education, a group of students on the leadership of certain leagues and trade unions should impose, through strikes, certain claims which have nothing in common with the statute of those organizations.

Although they are not members of the student league and unions, most of the students are unable to attend classes because of violence from pressure groups who block entrance to the classrooms of both students and a number of teachers who understand their noble mission as a proof of moral and professional probity.

The situation is worsened by teachers who send students home while getting paid for the respective classes.

As the political strikes are against the unions' statute and the laws in force, we request that legal measures be taken against those who are responsible for this situation.

Deputies' Assembly Expresses Concern

AU1212222990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2210 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—A communique of the Commission for Education, Science, Youth and Sports of the Assembly of Deputies sent to ROMPRES to be released, says:

Considering the notifications the Commission has received from some university centers, it is a reason of concern for us to draw the conclusion that the unanimously accepted principle of forbidding political actions in education units has been flagrantly violated.

A still more serious reason of worry is that the notifications prove without doubt that such political actions that [word indistinct] source of tension, are organized or supported by the rectorates or dean's offices of some universities, institutes, and faculties.

Consequently we ask the Ministry of Education and Science to take the necessary steps in keeping with its powers to make schools be centers of education and not arenas of political events.

Roman News Conference Views Strikes

AU1212220690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2135 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—In a news conference held at the government headquarters on December 12 at noon, Prime Minister Petre Roman answered questions of Romanian and foreign journalists, who referred especially to the results of the talks conducted the previous day between the government and the representatives of seven TU [trade union] federations, as well as the current social situation in Romania.

About the government-unions dialogue, Premier Roman mentioned that it had concluded with the endorsement of a joint form of stage wise negotiation of the claims advanced by the Union representatives, assessing that that might help easing the current tensions, making also a "support to social peace". In connection with the current social situation, assessed by some journalists as "explosive", the prime minister rejected the assessment, showing that the "social situation in Romania is not explosive". Petre Roman did not agree to the wording contained in a question "the social tension in Romania is mounting as the day of December 22 draws nearer" either. Prime Minister Roman stressed that "the legitimacy of a parliament and of a president legally elected by the May 20 poll cannot be questioned, and the government may not have immunity in a democratic state."

About Romania's image in the world after mid-June, the prime minister recognized that it was "difficult", "degraded" but is incomparably better now.

Appeal for Strike Published 6 Dec

AU1212155990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Dec 90 p 2

[Timisoara Students' Convention Appeal "Only Cowards Go Home on Saturday!"; place and date not given]

[Text] Students!
—Our patience is exhausted and this is the month of "DECEMBER."
—The time has come to see to it that the power of the "students' movement" is felt.
—Do not forget that we are from TIMISOARA and that the flame of the revolution has been and still is TIMISOARA.
—Have a look around, we are the only COMMUNIST country left in the East-European bloc.

In Bulgaria, in a matter of three weeks the students were able to change a "COMMUNIST president," who had been elected "DEMOCRATICALLY," and in a matter of one week a similarly COMMUNIST government. WE ARE ABLE TO BE AS UNITED AS THEY ARE!

—We have to strongly protest against:
—The COMMUNIST policy promoted by the current leadership;
—The moral and material misery to which the Romanian people are subjected;
—The unscrupulous lies we have been fed for 12 months;
—The nonobservance of basic human rights and so forth.

The only solution is to call a general strike in all faculties in Timisoara and the rest of the country until the resignation....

(Convention of Timisoara Students' Organizations)

CADA, Others Demand Iliescu, Roman Resignation

AU1312151990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Declaration"]

[Text] The associations and the members of the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA] present at the last meeting with Mr. Iliescu on 5 December 1990, which came to nothing, have agreed that the only way out of the current crisis for our country is the immediate resignation of Romania's president and prime minister, who, through serious political, economic, and moral errors have isolated our country internationally and have taken Romania to the threshold of disaster. Dialogue stays open only if there is goodwill and truth.

On the other hand, the tendency of Mr. Iliescu and his ruling team to stay at the helm of the country by force is obvious. In our opinion, the adoption in Parliament of the law on the setting up, organization, and operation of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense means betraying the democratic principles. We, therefore, support CADA's demands, an essential one of which is that the Army not be involved in action against the people. Those who are unable to stay in power on the basis of clear evidence of their ability and credibility in the eyes of their own people are not entitled to lead us.

At this time of historic responsibility for the destiny of the Romanian people, we request that the parliamentary opposition prove its presence by immediately withdrawing its representatives from this so-called legislative body.

Aware of the importance of television, we support Mr. Dumitru Iuga's hunger strike, which has become the symbol of the struggle for truth.

Signed: Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania; CADA; GID [expansion not known]; Brasov "15 November" Movement; "Timisoara" Society; and Romanian League of War Veterans

War Veterans Appeal for Calm, Understanding

AU1112151990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1421 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—War veterans appeal to all Romanian citizens, irrespective of age, sex, nationality, profession, religious beliefs and political views, urging them to work, to show reason, calm and understanding, to give up all actions that run counter to the order of law with a view to building a sound climate of national cooperation and harmony, reads a communique by the National Association of War Veterans of Romania sent for release to the "ROMPRES" national news agency.

The communique expresses concern over the lack of understanding, phony patriotism, political demagogy, sterile fight of ideas and the placing of private and group interests and ambitions above the public cause.

PLDDS Issues Appeal; Stresses National Unity

AU1212215290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2116 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—The Free Democratic Party of Social Justice of Romania [PLDDS] has urged all honest people not to let themselves involved in any dispute, as such disputes serve only the enemies of the December 1989 revolution.

The appeal condemns any form of extremism, nationalism and chauvinism, sustaining the idea that any action to sow hatred among citizens would result in disgracing the ideals of the December 1989 revolution and in destabilizing the situation in the country.

All parties, political formations, trade unions and professional associations, irrespective of their orientation are bound to unite in order to celebrate the day of the Romanian Revolution thinking of the country's and nation's welfare, the appeal shows.

Deputies' Assembly on Issuing Revolution Orders

AU1212182290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1718 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—Wednesday [12 December] morning, the Assembly of Deputies resumed its proceedings during which the draft law was debated and approved on the commemoration of the December 1989 revolution heroes and on the rights of their descendants and of the wounded. The draft was initiated by a National Salvation Front parliamentary group and proposes the institution of the order of "Martyr-Hero of the December 1989 Romanian Revolution" and that of "Fighter for the Victory of the Romanian Revolution of December, 1989" and makes provisions for pensions and various rights and facilities to be granted to the heroes' descendants, as well as appropriate pensions and rights meant to rehabilitate the working capacities of the wounded.

Thesis for Draft Constitution Provided

AU1112193990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1841 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The theses for the drafting of Romania's Constitution, articulated by the special parliamentary commission, have been released.

We start a serial transmission of the theses.

I. Fundamental Principles

1. Romania is a sovereign, unitary and indivisible national state.

The Romanian state is a republic.

2. Romania's territory is inalienable.

Romania's frontiers are established by law.

3. The national sovereignty belongs to the people. No group or person can exercise sovereignty in its own behalf.

The people exercises its power through its representative bodies and through referendum.

The people's representative bodies are elected by universal vote in terms stipulated by law.

The way of organization and unfolding of the referendum are established by law.

4. Romania is a democratic state of law.

Human dignity, citizens' rights and freedoms, the free development of their personality, the constitutional order, legal equality, justice and political pluralism are supreme assets; public authorities are bound to observe and protect them.

5. No privilege is admitted to the benefit of any of the social categories.

The state asks for and facilitates mutual support and collaboration of all bodies and social categories for the common welfare.

6. The state shall ensure:
a. Guaranteeing of national sovereignty and territorial integrity;
b. Observance of constitutional order, of civic rights and freedoms;
c. Exploitation of natural resources in harmony with the national interest;
f. [as received] Environmental protection and ecological equilibrium;
g. Provision of necessary conditions for raising the quality of life and social security of citizens;
h. Encouragement of free enterprise;
i. Participation of all citizens in public life;
j. Cooperation with other states, consolidation of peace and promotion of understanding among peoples.

7. The state is based on the unity of the Romanian people, the common and indivisible homeland of its citizens, irrespective of race, ethnical origin, language, religion, sex, political opinion and allegiance, wealth or social origin.

It acknowledges and guarantees the right to preservation, development and expression of all national minorities' identity, in all domains of economic, political, cultural, religious legal and social life. Any discrimination shall be punished under the law.

The Romanian state's measures of protection for the preservation of the national minorities' identity should be in harmony with the principles of equality and non-discrimination in relation to the other Romanian citizens.

8. The market economy in Romania relies upon the free enterprise of all participants in economic life.

9. The state protects the property.

Property is either public or private. Public property belongs to the state or to the administrative-territorial units.

Private property assets are inalienable; they may be leased or let in legal terms.

10. Political pluralism is a requisite and a guarantee of democracy in the Romanian society.

The political parties shall be set up and unfold activity as provided for by the law. They participate in defining and expressing the citizens' political will in observance of national sovereignty, constitutional order and the principles of democracy.

The only criterium underlying the setting up and acknowledgement of the political parties shall be the political one.

Variant for paragraph 3

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to be deleted. [as received]

11. The trade unions shall be set up and unfold activity as provided for by the law and in keeping with their statutes.

They shall help protecting the employees' rights and promoting their professional interests.

12. The formation, administration and use of the state's financial means as well as of those of the public institutions shall comply with the legal provisions on public finance.

The incomes and expenses necessary for the state's activities shall be recorded annually in the state budget; no budget expense can be endorsed without establishing the financing source.

The state budget, as well as its annexes—established according to the law, together with the accounts of budget execution—shall annually be submitted for approval to the Assembly of Deputies, upon the government's proposal.

The budget of social state security shall be drawn up by the government, apart from the state budget and shall be endorsed by the Assembly of Deputies together with the latter.

The incomes and expenses for the local public administration shall be recorded in their own budgets that shall be annually drawn up and endorsed by the local councils in every administrative- territorial unit.

The imposts, taxes and any other state budget revenue shall be established only under law.

The management of the executive activity in public finance and the coordination of the actions in the monetary and foreign currency actions shall be vested in the government.

The control of the use of public finance shall be performed by the court of accounts as well as by other state institutions as provided for by the law.

13. The Armed Forces shall only serve the people and shall be subordinated to its will.

They guarantee the state's independence and unity, territorial integrity and constitutional order.

The organization of the Armed Forces, the fundamental outlook on the country's defence, the structure of the national defence system as well as the status of the military are established by the law.

To the end of organizing and coordinating in a unitary way the activities the purpose of which is the country's defence and the state's security the supreme council of the country's defence is set up and operates in conditions provided for by the law. The activity of the Supreme Council of the Country's Defence is under the Parliament's control.

In the events expressly stipulated by law, for a limited duration and a purpose established before hand, the Supreme Council of the Country's Defence may decide on the participation of the Armed Forces along with the police and other domestic forces in ensuring constitutional order and protecting the citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms.

14. Romania keeps peaceful relations of cooperation and good neighbourliness with all states, relying upon the principles of international law, with the purpose of observing human dignity and of mankind's progress.

15. The Romanian state pledges to faithfully observe its international commitments and treaties it is a party to.

The unanimously acknowledged international principles and rules and those deriving from the treaties ratified according to the law are part of the domestic law.

16. Romanian citizenship expresses a person's belonging to the Romanian state. It shall be granted or withdrawn in conditions provided for by the law.

No Romanian citizen may be deprived of this capacity.

17. The administrative-territorial units are the counties, towns and communes.

Some towns may be proclaimed cities in legal conditions.

Communes may comprise several villages and hamlets.

The number and size of the administrative-territorial units are established by law.

The organization and activity of the administrative-territorial units are based on administrative decentralization and local autonomy.

18. The official language in Romania is the Romanian.

Romania's flag is the tricolour, with vertically arranged colours in the following sequence from the staff on: blue, yellow, red.

The national anthem is "Desteapta-te, Romane" (Wake Up, Romanian).

The arms and seal of the Romanian state shall be established under an organic law.

Romania's capital is Bucharest City.

Provisions Reported

AU1212212190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2019 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—Citizens' major rights, liberties and duties

Chapter One: Common Provisions

1. All citizens benefit by rights guaranteed by the Constitution and have the duties it stipulates.

The law is applicable only in future.

2. The citizens are equal before the law and the court, without any privilege and any discrimination as regards race, ethnic origin, language, religion, sex, opinion and political allegiance, wealth or social origin.

3. The Romanian citizens abroad enjoy state protection in exercising their rights and fulfilling their obligations, except for those incompatible with their absence from the country.

4. In Romania, foreigners and stateless persons have all rights and obligations envisaged by the Constitution and laws, but for the ones belonging exclusively to the Romanian citizens.

5. The constitutional provisions regarding civic rights and liberties shall be interpreted and applied in accordance with the universal declaration of human rights, with the international pacts, treaties and agreements Romania is a party to.

6. The fundamental rights and liberties as well as their guarantees can be limited only in the cases provided for by the Constitution or in states of siege or emergency and only according to the law. The law shall compulsorily show the right and article in the Constitution to which limited exercise refers, without infringing upon the very existence of that right.

7. Any person has the right to apply to the court to defend his rights and liberties.

Nobody can elude, against one's will, the competence of the judge established by law.

No punishment can be set or applied unless it is grounded and abides by law.

8. A Romanian citizen cannot be expelled from Romania. Extradition is applicable only according to an international convention and on reciprocity terms.

The Romanian, foreign and stateless citizens cannot be extradited for political reasons if they accord with the constitutional order in Romania. Likewise, they cannot be extradited upon the request of a state where they might be sentenced to death. Such provisions are also applicable in the case of expelling foreigners and the stateless.

Paragraph 2 is not applicable to the persons who commit acts of terrorism or genocide.

Expulsion and extradition can be applied only by the court upon the request of the relevant state body.

Chapter Two: Fundamental Rights and Liberties

1. Man's right to life is full and inviolable. The sentence to death is forbidden at time of peace.

2. The right to individual safety and freedom is warranted.

Individual freedom and body integrity are inviolable.

Nobody can be submitted to torture, to any punishment or to any inhumane or debasing treatment.

Accusation, detention or arrest of a person are allowed only in the cases stipulated by law and abiding by it.

Detention cannot exceed 24 hours.

Arrest can be made only on the basis of a warrant issued by the magistrate and only for a duration of 30 days at a maximum unless the court exceptionally approves of its extension.

The detainee or the arrested must be informed at once, in the language he can understand, about the reasons for his detention or arrest and, in the shortest possible time, about what he was charged with and about his right to be assisted by a panel of defense.

The detainee or the arrested shall compulsorily be released before the fulfillment of the term, if the reasons for which such measures were taken hold no longer.

The arrested has any time the right to complain to the judge over the lawfulness of his detention; through motivated ruling the judge shall pronounce himself within a 24-hour term. During the trial the preventively arrested defendant can ask for provisional freedom under judiciary control or on bail.

Till the pronunciation of the sentence the person is considered not guilty.

The victim of an illegal detention or arrest has the right to material and moral reparation. The court can decide on this.

The right to defense is inviolable.

Nobody can be hampered to benefit by a chosen panel of defense in any phase of the trial.

Any kind of trial is held in the Romanian language.

The persons who wish to be defended in their mother tongue have the right to an interpreter. In penal trials the interpreter is free of charge.

3. The right to free travel is protected.

The right of every citizen to travel and establish domicile or residence in any part of the national territory, to travel abroad or to emigrate, as well as to come back to the country is guaranteed.

The right stipulated in Paragraph 1 may be abridged, under law or by virtue of a law only in the event of necessity to cope with a danger threatening the constitutional order, in order to avert the risks of a spreading epidemic, the consequences of a natural calamity or of a very drastic catastrophe, as well as for the minors protection against desertion or for fighting certain infractions of the law or for the service of a penal sentence.

4. Any natural person has the right to decide on itself, unless it hereby infringes upon the order of law, the rights and freedoms of others as well as the proprieties.

5. Public authorities shall protect privacy and family life.

6. Domicile is inviolable. Nobody shall enter or remain in a person's domicile or residence without the latter's consent.

The provisions of Paragraph 1 may be derogated under law:
a) for enforcement of a court of law's decision;
b) for averting a danger spelt at a person's life, body integrity or property;
c) for defense of state's security or public order;
d) for averting the spreading of an epidemic;
e) in any other event calling for protection against a common danger.

Searches may be ruled only by a judge or other competent state body and shall be conducted only in the forms provided for by the law.

Search shall not be carried out at night, except for flagrance delicti.

7. The secrecy of correspondence of any kind—letters, cables, mail, telephone calls as well as other like modalities of communications is—inviolable.

Opening of correspondence, its photocopying, destruction, holding back or purposeful delay in transmitting it shall be punished according to the law.

The inviolability of the secrecy of correspondence may be abridged by law only in order to avert a danger regarding the state's security or to allow for penal prosecution.

8. Freedom of thought, opinion and religious belief is full and shall not be abridged in any form.

Nobody shall be discriminated or persecuted for his or her opinions and beliefs. Every person has the right to publicly express them as long as they do not run counter to the constitutional order.

The cults are free. Their organization and functioning shall proceed according to their own statutes and shall not run counter to public order, state security and decency.

The church is autonomous in relation to the state. The latter shall support the cults' activity, in conditions provided for by the law.

Parents or lawful tutors have the right to ensure the moral and religious education of the underaged they are responsible for.

The exercise of the freedom of conscience shall be allowed only in a climate of mutual tolerance and regard.

9. The freedom of speech and of the other modalities of expression and communication of the intellectual, artistic and scientific creation—viva voce, in written form, in visual form, by sounds or any other media—are inviolable. Censorship of any kind forbidden.

The freedom of expression shall not cause prejudice to the person's honor, private life or the right to one's own image.

Liability for the content of the publicized creation devolves, in this sequence, to the author, editor or producer as well as, if they cannot be identified, to the owner of the printing house or sponsor of the artistic event.

Law forbids and punishes the slandering of the country and of the nation, incitation to war, national, racial, class and religious hatred, to discrimination, public violence, national ethnical and linguistic exclusivism and separatism, as well as the indecent, obscene acts that are against proprieties.

PNL Protests Provocations, TV Censorship

AU1212180390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Dec 90 p 2

[Protest "On Behalf of the National Liberal Party"; place and date not given]

[Text] For the first time, throughout our centuries-old history, the day of the great unification, 1 December 1918—declared as Romania's national holiday—was celebrated in Alba Iulia. The homage-paying celebrations on 1 December 1990, however, were strongly disturbed by acts of subversion carried out by groups of provocative elements. It is intolerable that during such celebrations at which all people, irrespective of color or political convictions, have to prove that they mentally adhere to the great holiday that represents the whole evolution of the Romanian people, the president of the National Liberal Party [PNL], Mr. Radu Campeanu, is hampered in his homage-paying speech.

WE ASK OURSELVES: WHOM DO THESE ELEMENTS REPRESENT, WHO WAS INTERESTED IN ACTS OF SUBVERSION; WHAT PURPOSE AND WHOM DO THEY SERVE AT A SIGNIFICANT TIME IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE?

We protest against those who plot such acts, which cannot lead to the unity that is desired and to the establishment of an atmosphere of peace and understanding.

PNL PRESS BUREAU

We indignantly protest that the aforementioned communique—read on television in the evening of 2 December 1990—was censored through the unjustified omission of the second paragraph.

June Events Investigation Group Members Listed

AU1212190090 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Dec 90 p 1

[List of members of "Parliamentary Investigation Commission"]

[Text] We want to remind the public of the composition of the Parliamentary Investigation Commission inquiring into the events of 13-15 June 1990 from which the whole nation expects the truth: Corvin Bangu, senator of the National Salvation Front [FSN]; Sorin Botnaru, FSN deputy; Petru Burca, deputy of Alliance for Romanians' Unity; Radu Ciuceanu, deputy of National Liberal Party [PNL]; Sergiu Cunescu, deputy of Social Democratic Party; and vice president of the parliamentary commission; Mircea Cupsa, FSN senator; Valentin Gabrielescu, deputy of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party; Sabin Ivan, PNL senator; Anton Lintmaier, deputy of the minorities; Laszlo Zsigmond, deputy of Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR]; Ion Moldovan, FSN deputy; Gheorghe Munteanu, FSN senator; Gabriel Marinescu, UDMR senator; Radu Nicolae FSN senator and president of the parliamentary commission; Valeriu Pescaru, deputy of the Agrarian Democratic Party; Mihai Ruva, PNL senator; Constantin Sorescu, FSN deputy; Ion Solcanu, FSN senator and parliamentary commission vice president; George Stancov, FSN deputy; Nicolae Simeon Tatu, FSN senator; and Zoltan Hoszu, UDMR senator.

Mr. Petre Roman was heard Tuesday, 4 December 1990. Yesterday, 5 December, President Iliescu was to be heard. This hearing turned into a discussion at Cotroceni

Palace which was attended solely by FSN members of the commission, while those of the opposition thought that the president should have called on the commission headquarters.

Draft Economic Program for 1991 Issued

AU1212182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1626 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—The National Commission for Forecasts, and Economic Planning elaborated a variant of economic programme for 1991, a document which will be analyzed by the government, discussed with representatives of the main political parties and trade unions, to be submitted to Parliament for approval.

The forecast of the macroeconomic indicators' evolution was made starting from the assumption that 1991 would be the first year when the specific influences of the economic reform are felt. At the same time, the Romanian economy was viewed in relation with the international situation and external factors dynamics.

Taking into account the limited possibilities of providing the national economy with raw materials and energy, it is appreciated that the internal output will increase by 4.8 per cent as to 1990, with the economic branches contributing: 51.7 per cent industry, 12.7 per cent agriculture and silviculture, 5.7 per cent construction, 7 per cent transport and telecommunications, 7.2 per cent goods circulation, 15.8 per cent other branches. The industry's contribution to the gross national output will be according to forecast only if commodity output increases by 3.3 per cent as to this year's preliminated level. Per form of property, the gross national output will be created in the following proportions: 76.7 per cent in the state-owned sector, 17.8 per cent in the private sector, 5.5 per cent in the cooperative sector.

By indexing the salaries and pensions it is appreciated that about 70 per cent of the prices increase will be covered. It is expected that the number of employees will be 7,935,000, and the number of the unemployed will be 462,000—i.e. 4 per cent of the active population.

The amount of the population's savings in banks will drop by 35.9 per cent.

As to the agricultural production, variants were made for normal weather and for prolonged drought taking as a basis an agricultural surface of 14.7 million hectares, of which 9.3 million are arable land. It is also appreciated that at the end of next year the livestock will reach 6,150,000 head of cattle 12,100,000 pigs and 15,800,000 sheep and goats. As to the fodder resources, their amount was established on the basis of 4.7 million hectares of natural grazing land and 1.8 million hectares of fodder crops, as well as of substantial imports.

In tomorrow's transmissions we shall give further details of this programme, which was published today in daily "ADEVARUL".

Explanation of Army Threat To Fire Requested

AU1212172690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Dec 90 p 1

[Anton Uncu article: "An Act of Rebellion in the Romanian Army?"]

[Text] As already announced in our issue of Saturday, 1 December, UNIREA [UNION] of Alba Iulia published on 29 November a communique of the "Transylvania" Army signed by Colonel General Paul Cheler, which reads:

"The Army will ensure an atmosphere of security and order, of peace and quiet so that we might be able to celebrate with joy and love for the homeland and the nation. At the same time, it will firmly retaliate and even open fire against all those who will disturb and will try to compromise our sacred national holiday of 1 December."

After the events in Alba Iulia on 1 December, we understand the contradictory feelings that must have been experienced by the general when he found out who was actually disturbing and trying to cause trouble—that is, who were the troublemakers and their instigators.

We draw the attention of the minister of defense to the fact that, as one can see, it is not CADA [Committee for the Democratization of the Army] that is destabilizing the Army, but the generals' insubordination.

It is hard to believe that that communique of the "Transylvania" Army was issued at the express order of the minister of defense. If the minister issued no such order, then—by all military rules existing in any country in the world—the measures recommended by general Cheler, temporary or not, amount to insubordination. More serious than anything is the fact that as long as we are not at war with anyone, the threat of opening fire is obviously addressed to Romanian citizens. In this case, in view of the statements made by the leadership of the Ministry of the Defense that the Army will not fire on the people, General Cheler's measures and the "Transylvania" Army's statement amount to rebellion and should be probably brought up before a military court. Here we are in a situation when an army commander can unilaterally decide to open fire on the citizens. This could not happen even in Ceausescu's time.

If, absurdly, the "Transylvania" Army communique is the outcome of an order from the Army's leadership, then the entire responsibility must obviously be shouldered by Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu.

It is high time that the government and the minister of defense should immediately proceed to give details about measures taken in this respect.

Theodorescu 'Ready To Resign' as TV Chief

AU1112221290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2106 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The members of the Commission for Art and Culture of the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies met on December 11, with the representatives of the TV Administration and of the TV Free Union, to analyze the tension existing in that institution at present.

When he first took the floor the president of the Romanian Radiotelevision Razvan Theodorescu said he was ready to resign if that could solve the problem responsible for the tension. Ionel Roman, deputy speaker of the Assembly of Deputies read decree-law 136/11.5.1990 for the organisation and operation of that institution and underlined the parliamentarians were asked to answer a questionnaire on which the new law on audio-visual media would be based.

Laurentiu Constantin, vice-president of the TV Free Union reminded those present of the union claims, which had been sent to the Parliament as well, inter alia the resignation of the TV President Razvan Theodorescu and of its director general Emanuel Valeriu, whose charges would be assumed by an interim administrative body.

Fourteen members of the parliamentary commission took the floor. All of them stressed the extremely important role played by the Romanian Television during the December '89 revolution and disavowed the events taking place in that institution.

Andruta Ceausescu Appeals Court Sentence

AU1012193790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1906 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The Supreme Court of Justice debated Monday, December 10, the appeal lodged by reserve Lieutenant-General Andruta Nicolae Ceausescu, against the sentence condemning him at 15 years of jail for abetting genocide and first-degree murder, inter alia. The seven members of the court postponed their decision for December 18.

Government Issues Statement on Gulf Crisis

AU1112161590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Unattributed report: "Romanian Government's Statement on Evolution of the Situation in the Gulf Region"]

[Text] Dear listeners, here is the Romanian Government's statement on evolution of the situation in the gulf region.

From the very outbreak of the gulf crisis in August, Romania's Government expressed profound concern over the resort to force against Kuwait, an independent and sovereign state. The Romanian Government firmly demanded an end to military hostilities, the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops within its national borders, and a negotiated solution of existing differences, on the basis of procedures stipulated by the UN Charter.

The Romanian Government joined, without reservations, in the international efforts to solve the gulf crisis, particularly within the UN Security Council, both at the time when that body's chairmanship was held by our country's representative last August and later. Romania directly participated in drafting and negotiating the 10 resolutions adopted thus far by the Council in connection with this serious crisis; these resolutions basically ask for observance of Kuwait's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. At the same time, Romania's Government proceeded to strictly implement the embargo measures decreed by the UN Security Council against Iraq, in spite of the fact that they had a strong negative impact on our country's economy, which is currently passing through a difficult transition period.

Inspired by the desire to make full use of the potential and resources of the UN Security Council—in its capacity as main body of the world forum, which can act to peacefully resolve conflicts among states—Romania co-sponsored and voted in favor of Resolution 678 of 29 November 1990, which grants a respite until 15 January 1991 for the implementation of the Council's resolutions—primarily for bringing about Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of the latter's independence and sovereignty.

In our country's opinion, the latest resolution should be a strong incentive for the efforts made to find a peaceful solution of the crisis and use the 45-day respite to explore all possible avenues for peace in the gulf. Emphasizing this significant aspect of its favorable vote, the Romanian Government also suggested that the UN secretary general, the Security Council, and all states should intensify their efforts to reach such a solution and give a chance for peace to prevail in that region.

In this respect, the Romanian Government welcomes the initiative of the U.S. Government to enter into a direct dialogue with Iraq and expresses the sincere hope that it will lead to a political settlement, in accordance with international law and the UN Security Council Resolutions.

The Romanian Government also welcomes the diplomatic actions recommended by the European Economic Community's Councils of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, by the French foreign minister, and by certain Arab countries, such as Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia; it also welcomes the continuation of the USSR diplomatic steps along the road of a peaceful solution of the conflict.

At the same time, the Romanian Government took note, with interest and satisfaction, of the Iraqi leadership's decision to free all foreigners held hostage there, something that is in accordance with provisions of UN Security Council Resolution 674; the Romanian Government expresses the hope that this decision is a first

step taken by the Baghdad leadership along the road of implementing the Council's resolutions.

In view of the fact that our country is situated near the conflict area and could be deeply affected by the consequences of some devastating military actions, particularly in the economic sphere, the Romanian Government—proceeding from its responsibilities as Security Council member and acting in the spirit of Resolution 678—is determined to contribute, in its turn, to international efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in the gulf, implement the provisions of the UN Security Council resolution.

In the Romanian Government's opinion, a negotiated solution of the gulf crisis could pave the way for an equitable political solution of the problems that have troubled the entire Middle East region for decades. This would be in accordance with the trends toward detente and dialogue in international relations, the Romanian Government's statement, which was released today, concludes.

Foreign Minister Summarizes Visit to Greece

AU1212145490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1409 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/12/1990—Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, recently come back from his three-day official visit to Greece, made the following statement to a ROMPRES editor:

What I want to emphasise is the very good feelings we have come back with.

We hope many credit lines to be opened to help the achievement of common projects, the support of import and export operations, especially at the level of small investors.

We need a kind of "governmental umbrella" and a certain financial support at state level. These were some of our visit's purposes besides the one I have mentioned on another occasion—namely to obtain humanitarian aid, food, medicines. All these will come to Romania still this month. A train with food has already left for Romania, I think, and we intend to use planes the following days. We hope all our projects will materialize. Anyhow there is much readiness in Athens and I'd like to stress it now, when coming back to Bucharest, after several meetings I consider as very valuable and which open broad possibilities for future operations and projects.

Soviet Criticism on Moldovan Stand Rejected

AU1212170890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial note: "Who Is Actually Destabilizing?"]

[Text] TASS agency released the following item: "Interference in domestic affairs is unacceptable for the Soviet Union, even if it originates from a leader of a friendly country, as we believe Romania to be," Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told a news conference on 3 December. He was commenting on Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman's interview with DIE WELT, in which the Romanian leader said that his country's task "is, as one can see, the struggle for the independence of the Republic of Moldova."

In this respect, the spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs recalled that "Romania is interested in stability on the continent no less than other European countries, and such a stability is closely connected with European states' domestic stability."

For now, let us limit ourselves to noting that, regarding the "political stability of European states," the Republic of Moldova is in jeopardy from this viewpoint, due to the secessionist "Gagauz" and "Transdniestrian" maneuvers. Concerning the "interference in domestic affairs," unfortunately this formula is often invoked when one tries to eschew certain problems related to human and national rights.

Joint Canadian Commission Meets; Protocol Signed

AU1212092290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0843 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/12/1990—The 15th Romanian-Canadian Joint Governmental Commission for the Promotion of Trade and Economic Cooperation met in Bucharest on 10 and 11 December. Fresh actions were agreed upon to further develop Romanian-Canadian cooperation in areas of mutual interest—the Cernavoda nuclear power station, machine building, the woodworking industry, mining and geology—to increase and diversify mutual goods exchanges.

At the end of the works, the two co-chairmen, Dumitru Popescu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Resources and Industry, and Rod Irwin, director-general at Canada's Foreign Affairs and International Commerce Ministry, signed a protocol.

The Canadian chief delegate was received by Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism.

Martian Receives Austrian Delegation 7 Dec

AU0712184490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/12/1990—The speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Mr. Dan Martian, received on Friday [7 December] a delegation of deputies of Nationalrat (Austria's Parliament) including Mr. Wendelin Ettmayer, representative of the Social and Christian People's Party of Austria, and Mr. Robert Elmecker, representative of the Social Democratic Socialist Party of Austria, who are paying a visit to our country.

The guests were informed of the current process of democratizing the Romanian society, which started after the December 1989 revolution, with reference to a number of normative acts approved by the Romanian Parliament to create the necessary legal framework for the transition from a supercentralized economy to a market economy.

At the same time, questions related to the future development of Romanian-Austrian relations were tackled.

Appeal Against 'Forced Repatriation' of Refugees

AU1212160890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Dec 90 p 2

[Romanian Helsinki Committee note: "The Golden Curtain"]

[Text] In connection with the decision of certain citizens not to return home for now, we realize that this causes economic and social hardships in the countries in which they are currently traveling.

Problems related to human rights, however, arise just at such a time, when contradictions appear between the economic and political interests of certain social, ethnic, or professional categories. This is the time when the generous principles included in the Universal Human Rights Declaration are put to the test.

In this respect, we ask the Austrian authorities to consider the human aspect of the problem when they decide on the forced repatriation of persons found in such a situation.

We value the attitude adopted in favor of our fellow nationals by representatives of the church, politicians, and part of the public opinion in Austria. Austrian Airlines and Niki Lauda airlines will not transport passengers if they are obliged to travel against their will. The Helsinki International Federation for Human Rights, with headquarters in Vienna, is closely monitoring this situation. In this respect, at the 27-29 October Timisoara conference on human rights, Mr. Gerald Nagler, general secretary of the Helsinki International Federation, drew attention to the danger that the obsolete Iron Curtain, which separated West from East Europe, will be replaced by a Golden Curtain.

Baltazar on State Reserves, IMF Credit Option

AU1212145790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1043 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/12/1990—Romania received from the International Monetary Fund 80 million special drawing rights units (worth nearly 100 million dollars) and has as a reserve of up to 500 million dollars ready to be used, announced the spokesman for the government, state secretary Bogdan Baltazar. He also said: This short-term credit structure and the long-term assistance reasonably cover Romania's requirements for winter and later, spring and summer.

'Final Results' in Serbian Elections Issued

Milosevic Declared Winner

AU1212133690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report from Serbian Assembly in Belgrade]

[Text] The final results of the elections for president of the Republic of Serbia were announced a few minutes ago. The majority of votes were cast for Slobodan Milosevic, candidate of the Socialist Party of Serbia, who received 3,285,000 votes or 65 percent of the electorate. Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement is second with 824,000 votes or 16 percent. Ivan Djuric, the candidate of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative and the Reform Forces, finished third with 277,000 votes or almost six percent. Finishing fourth was the leader of the Novi Pazar-based Party of Democratic Action, Sulejman Ugljanin, with 109,000 or slightly less than two percent of the vote. Vojislav Seselj is fifth with 96,000 votes or almost two percent of the electorate, and so on.

The final results of the elections for deputies are expected to be announced at the news conference that is starting now. We have, however, unofficially learned that in about 150 constituencies out of a total of 250, the second round, scheduled for 23 December, will decide the outcome of the elections.

This is all for now from the republican Electoral Commission.

Milosevic Comments on Victory

AU1212194790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Immediately after the results of the elections in Serbia were made public, Belgrade Radio and Television asked President Slobodan Milosevic to make a public statement. In reply to the [word indistinct] of Belgrade Radio and Television, Slobodan Milosevic made the following statement:

[Begin Milosevic recording] I consider the duty of the president of the republic, that I am taking over by the decision of the citizens of Serbia, to be an obligation and a responsibility to realize a policy of freedom, peace, and equality of the peoples and people, a policy that will lead Serbia along a road of an economic and cultural development and which will make possible equal economic, social, political, and cultural conditions for the lives of all citizens.

Serbia should now be united and mobilized on the realization of an economic, cultural, and social renewal in general for which all conditions exist and in which every citizen of Serbia should take part.

After the elections, I expect mutual accusations and hatred to finally disappear from television, radio, and the press, and torn posters to be cleaned away from streets and squares, so that the people can finally feel relief and that through their own work everybody can contribute to their own progress, to the progress of their families and their republic, and to the progress of Yugoslavia, our joint homeland.

Just as we succeeded in everything that we started during the last three years, so will we succeed in the great job that we have taken upon ourselves in the interest of the future of the Serbian people, in the interest of all citizens of Serbia, and in the interest of Yugoslavia. [end recording]

96 People's Deputies Elected

LD1212150490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—In the first round of voting in the first postwar multiparty elections in Serbia 96 people's deputies were elected while in 152 constituencies the voting will have to be repeated since no candidate succeeded in gaining the necessary majority of over half the votes cast. This was announced today by Caslav Ignjatovic, chairman of Serbia's Electoral Commission, at the final press conference which was held in the Serbian Assembly. Out of the 96 elected deputies 87 were candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Sociajlisticka Partija Srbije], five of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [Demokratska Zajednica Madjara Vojvodine] three of the Democratic Action Party of Novi Pazar [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] and one of the Party for Democratic Activity [Partija za Demokratsko Delovanje].

Opposition Figures React to Results

LD1212062690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0220 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec [date as received] (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Democratic Party Dragoljub Micunovic on Tuesday [11 December] said that by announcing election results it is being suggested that the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) has won the first multiparty parliamentary elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, although final results are not yet available for two thirds of the republic's constituencies.

According to reports by the opposition election headquarters, which is operating simultaneously with the republican election commission, over 140 opposition candidates for deputies will contest seats in the republic's 250-seat parliament in the second round of elections, which indicates that the winner is still not known.

Presidential candidate of a group of citizens Vojislav Seselj said that the SPS and its presidential candidate, the republic's current President Slobodan Milosevic, have not won the elections because they were strong but because the opposition, with the exception of the Democratic Party, was weak and not sufficiently serious.

Disappointed because the Green Party did not win a single seat, the party's leader Dragan Jovanovic predicted that the "whole big, ecologically dirty, capital will now burst into Serbia."

Slovenes—citizens of another Yugoslav republic, which has been at odds with Serbia and Montenegro over the question of the country's future system and which favours a confederal concept of future Yugoslavia—have also reacted to the initial results of the Serbian and Montenegrin elections.

A telephone public opinion poll, conducted by the Slovenian daily DELO, shows that, after Milosevic's indicated victory at the presidential elections in Serbia and Communist candidate Momir Bulatovic's at the elections in Montenegro, 53.2 percent of the polled believe that possibilities for agreement on Yugoslavia's future are now smaller, in contrast to only 7.9 percent of those who believe that they are greater.

Opposition Parties Unite for 2d Round

LD1212174790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—By special agreement, opposition parties in Serbia will, beginning today, campaign as the United Serbian Opposition. They are urging all their supporters and voters to cast their votes for candidates of the united opposition, irrespective of candidates' party affiliation.

The chairman of the Democratic Party, Dragoljub Micunovic, anounced this at a news conference held this evening. Micunovic spoke on behalf of the nine opposition parties that have joined forces: the Democratic Party, the People's Party [Narodna Stranka], the People's Peasant Party [Narodna Seljacka Stranka], the People's Radical Party, the Serbian Renaissance Movement, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Serbia, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the New Democracy [Nova Demokratija], and the Liberal Party.

Stressing that the first reports on elections results were part of a psychological warfare, Micunovic drew attention to the fact that 57 percent of voters voted for the opposition, and 43 percent for the Serbian Socialist Party. He then went on to warn "if this is repeated, the fate of the Serbian parliament will be resolved."

Kadijevic Congratulates Milosevic

LD1212194390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, has sent the following telegram of congratulations to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic:

"On the occasion of your convincing victory at the presidential elections in Serbia, I extend to you my most cordial congratulations. By voting for you and by putting candidates of the Serbian Socialist Party in the lead, the citizens of Serbia have cast their vote for peace, the further progress of Serbia on democratic and socialist foundations, and the strengthening of the SFRY as the common homeland of equal nations and nationalities."

At today's press conference, representatives of the New Communist Movement stressed that they regard the success of the left-wing forces in Serbia and Montenegro as their success. They urged the party members and sympathizers to vote for candidates of the Serbian Socialist Party in the second round of voting.

Peterle Sees Negative Election Impact

AU1212130390 Vienna AZ in German 12 Dec 90 p 5

[Unattributed interview with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle; place and date not given: "No Good Prospects"]

[Text] [AZ] In specific terms, what do you think an independent Slovenia should be like?

[Peterle] Yugoslavia is collapsing. For this reason, we believe that the decision to hold a referendum on 23 December is right, despite the fact that we are aware that, in the short term, we must accept an large economic crisis because of the referendum.

[AZ] Do you proceed from the assumption that the majority of the population will vote in favor of Slovenia's secession?

[Peterle] I am convinced of that. The plebiscite will not lead to an immediate secession but it will initiate Slovenia's gradual separation from Yugoslavia.

[AZ] However, the result of the process of negotiations can also be a really independent Slovenia, a separate state.

[Peterle] Yes.

[AZ] Do you fear force and pressure on the part of Belgrade because of your secessionist tendencies?

[Peterle] The representatives of the current policy in Serbia, who have just won the elections, would like Slovenia to secede from Yugoslavia so that they can shape the situation to their liking. However, given the election results, prospects for the development in Serbia and Yugoslavia are not good.

[AZ] The defense minister has threatened to use the Army against Slovenia.

[Peterle] I do not believe that the Army will invade Slovenia, because the Army and the Serbs would not really profit from such a step. We have repeatedly stated that we do not want to be the first ones to use force, but that we will defend ourselves. We have an independent

police and tens of thousands of regional soldiers, which are led by the defense minister in Ljubljana.

[AZ] Do you have the feeling that Austrian politicians support your path toward independence?

[Peterle] Those with whom I have held talks so far have shown more then mere understanding for our situation.

[AZ] What will happen to the Krsko nuclear power plant? When will it be closed down?

[Peterle] A referendum will be held on this issue. However, its closure would mean that we need additional energy. In this connection, we expect help from Austria. Austria might participate in the construction of projects for the generation of energy, for example.

[AZ] International organizations favor a united Yugoslavia.

[Peterle] I had contact with the World Bank and European institutions recently, and I must say that there is an increasing awareness that a uniform Yugoslavia no longer exists.

[AZ] What do you think of the recent prediction by the CIA that a civil war might break out in Yugoslavia in the next few months.

[Peterle] This is quite possible. It is mainly true for Serbia. I do not see such a danger for Slovenia.

Serb Labor Chamber Issues Statement on Changes

LD1212150690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The law on changes and amendments in Serbia's penal code which reintroduced sanctions for verbal offences was not endorsed and adopted by the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Serbian Assembly alone. At a 26 November session the law was adopted unanimously by all three Assembly chambers without any previous discussion. This was stressed in a statement today from the Serbian Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor.

The law was proposed by the republic's Executive Council in which Dusan Mihajlovic occupies the post of vice president responsible for political system and administration. Mihajlovic is at the same time chairman of the New Democracy [nova demokratija] which is part of the united opposition. Among delegates in all three chambers there are prominent members of the new opposition parties who are also candidates in current elections.

The impression is, the statement stresses, that the allegations that the Chamber of Associated Labor alone voted for the law on verbal offences was a preelection manipulation designed to discredit Milos Laban, president of this chamber, who in the election run off will run against Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Democratic Party Executive Committee.

Kosovo Albanians' TU on Starvation, Dismissals

LD1212161990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The leaders of the alternative Kosovo Trade Union, whose members are all Albanians, stated with dramatic undertones today that "while elections are taking place in Serbia, we have been forced to raise our voices against starvation."

Aziz Abrasi, vice president of this organization's "union," and Burhan Kavaja, president of its Executive Committee, said during their press conference that "causing the Albanians to starve and dismissals of workers are the result of the policy of the Socialist Party of Serbia," and that "enforced Serbianization and the destruction of the Kosovar economy cannot be justified by any law within a civilized world." [passage omitted]

These new "independent trade union" leaders said that they will first inform the Federal Executive Council" that there is a threat to human lives because of starvation, and will consequently seek aid." They will "also inform the world public" that they had set up commissions with the task of working out the criteria for funds at their disposal to be distributed to the strata of the population under the biggest threat. They also said that the autonomous Serbian trade union "Does not have the mandate to conduct negotiations or sign collective agreements on behalf of 150,000 workers of Albanian, Turkish, Muslim and Romany nationals in Kosovo."

Final Election Results in Bosnia Announced

Democratic Action Party Wins Majority

LD1212141690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] will have the most mandates, 86, in the Chamber of Citizens and in the Chamber of Municipalities of the Assembly of Bosnia and Hercegovina. The Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka] will have 72 seats and the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica] will have 44 seats.

These are the final results of the first postwar multiparty elections in this republic passed on to the journalists today by the republican Electoral Commission following the second election round in Banja Luka and the repeat vote in seven constituencies on Sunday [16 December]. The election on Sunday has not introduced any substantial changes in relation to the already published results, it was said today.

Further on Election Results

LD1212153690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—In addition to the three national parties the following obtained deputy

mandates in the Assembly chambers: Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove]—one mandate; the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina-Socialist Democratic Party [Savez Komunista BIH- Socijalisticka Demokratska Partija]—14 independent mandates and five in coalition with the Democratic Socialist Alliance of Bosnia and Hercegovina [Demokratski Socijalisticki Savez BIH] which also has an independent mandate. The Muslim Boshniak Organization [Muslimanska Bosnjacka Organizacija] will have two deputies; and Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije za BIH] will have 12 and one in coalition with the Democratic Party of Mostar [Demokratska Partija Mostara]. The Democratic ECO Alliance of the Green Movement [Demokratski Savez EKO Pokreta Zelenih] and the Socialist Youth Federation-the Bosnia and Hercegovina Democratic Alliance [SSO-Demokratski Savez BIH] will have one seat each. Two hundred thirty-three deputies are men and only seven are women.

The Electoral Commission is of the opinion that the national structure of future deputies has not been infringed upon and that they as a body reflect the national population structure in the republic in accordance with the 1981 census. There will be 99 Muslims, 85 Serbs, and 49 Croats, and seven Yugoslavs in both Assembly chambers.

The candidates of the national parties will make up the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina. Most votes—1,045,539 or 47.31 percent—were received by Fikret Abdic who with Alija Izetbegovic with 879,266 votes or 39.78 percent will represent the Muslims. Other nations and nationalities will be represented by Ejup Ganic who received 709,691 votes or 32.11 percent. The three were the candidates of the Party of Democratic Action.

The Serbs will be represented in the Presidency by Serbian Democratic Party candidates Biljana Plavsic, who received 573,812 or 25.96 percent of the votes, and Nikola Koljevic, with 556,218 votes or 25.17 percent. In the new Presidency the Croats will be represented by Croatian Democratic Community candidates Stjepan Kljuic who received 473,002 votes or 21.40 percent and Franjo Boras with 416,629 or 18.85 percent of the votes.

Montenegrin Elections Results Still Not Final

AU1212165390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Jagos Stojanovic report]

[Text] There are still no official results of the elections in Montenegro, although Danilovgrad, the last of 20 communes, sent its report on the election results by telephone last night. Why this uncertainty on the one hand and [words indistinct] data on the other? Radojko Djuricanin, president of the republican Electoral Commission, has provided an explanation to our correspondent Jagos Stojanovic:

[Stojanovic] The reasons for final results still being absent are poor weather conditions, large distances, and mistakes in the work of only seven out of 920 electoral committees, Djuricanin says. Due to mistakes made by these electoral committees, presidential and parliamentary elections will be repeated next Sunday, 16 December, in one polling station in the Cetinje constituency, in two polling stations in Titograd, and in four in Rozaje. Only then will we have the final results.

Due to snow drifts in [name indistinct], Savnik, Zabljak, Plav, and elsewhere, written reports are slow to arrive in Titograd, Djuricanin says, and points out that mass turnout, democracy, and few mistakes are the characteristics of these elections in Montenegro.

Out of 400,000 registered voters, 73.22 percent have cast their (?secret) vote at these elections. Out of three presidential candidates, Momir Bulatovic of the League of Communists has received 47.8 percent, Ljubisa Stankovic of the Reformists' Alliance 16.2, and Novak Kilibarda of the People's Party 7.7 percent of the votes. It is already clear that the new Montenegrin parliament will include Communists and representatives of the Reform Forces' Alliance, the People's Party, and the Democratic Albanian-Muslim Coalition.

Therefore, the single-party rule has been brought to an end. This is why even those who have not won or are in a minority are satisfied. What is most important, along with the convincing victory of the League of Communists candidates, except in Bar, Ulcinj, Plav, and Rozaje, is there is a strong opposition, as well. Therefore, democracy has been promoted.

LC Leader on Returns, FEC Future

LD1212142290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1051 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—We are convinced that the victory of the League of Communists [LC] in the Montenegrin election and the victory of the Socialist Party in the Serbian election will contribute to the settlement of the situation throughout the country and to the consolidation of Yugoslav unity on the basis of full equality.

This was stated by Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro, in his statement for Titograd POBJEDA today.

In some republics, he added, elections were won by national and nationalistic parties, but in the case of the elections in Serbia and Montenegro there is a distinct possibility of the victory by the parties which we usually call the parties of "public wealth".

In any case, we will persist in our efforts to keep Yugoslavia a federal community of equal citizens, and this means [equality] of both nations and nationalities.

Commenting on the electoral fiasco of the Alliance of Reformist Forces in Montenegro Bulatovic stressed:

The defeat of reformist forces in Montenegro, and everywhere in Yugoslavia as well, should not influence the implementation of the Federal Executive Council policy. The federal government must prove that it is in favor of the democratic option, that it will carry out consistently the laws adopted by the SFRY Assembly.

On the contrary, we will inevitably have to make moves which, among other things, will have an impact on the composition of the FEC. If the existing political conflicts between the LC and the reformist forces were to continue or if an attempt is made to transfer them to the relations between the federal government and Montenegro, we have the mandate and the commitment to protect the interests of our republic's citizens, said Bulatovic in conclusion.

'Disrespectful' Reporters Replaced in Montenegro

LD1212160890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Following the landslide victory of the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC], a new demonstration of the party's power has already started in Montenegro. Our correspondent reports an announcement of replacements of disrepectful local media editors and journalists. He also reports that all journalists from Croatia are maltreated; for instance, they are not allowed to dine in a local hotel.

Montengrin Communists Accused of Violence

AU0912160990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Dec 90 p 3

[Branko Jokic report: "Political Terror in Montenegro"]

[Excerpts] Titograd, 2 Dec—The closer we are to the elections in Montenegro (9 December), the worse become conflicts between parties, as well as the settling of accounts and mud-slinging in the local media. Party leaders are blaming each other for the treason of Montenegro and for the unlawful struggle for power, and information media have intensified their campaign against Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, one of the candidates for president of the republic.

It is interesting that officials of the League of Communists [LC] are leading in all that and that the party has already been accused of political and police violence against its political opponents. Dr. Miodrag Petrovic, leader of the Democratic Initiative, says in public that LC members attend other parties' election meetings with a view to preventing them. He says that they act in the same way as "Mao's red guards" at the times of the cultural revolution, who were "constantly waving their red cards." This prominent university professor has likened this method to the activity of fascist leaders in 1922 and of Mussolini's rise to power. Dr. Perovic says that the Montenegrin communist leaders publicly threaten: "We shall neither forget nor forgive!" This is exactly what Mussolini used to say.

These "principled" claims were more thoroughly explained in the latest issue of the independent weekly, MONITOR, which said that criminals are ruling Montenegro at the moment.

It gives some interesting facts about the autocracy of the communist leaders. First, that they have unlawfully usurped the building of the sociopolitical organizations which was built with money from the state budget.

They are reproached in particular for being connected with the police, which acts according to their orders, and it is said that Milo Djukanovic, secretary of the Central Committee of the Montenegrin LC, is the main person to control that service "on behalf of the state." Another interesting thing is that in Bar, some political opponents of the LC were taken to the militia station "for traffic offenses" and that in its editorial, the internal organ of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, INFORMATIVNI GLASNIK, has called on the members of the service and their closest relatives to vote only for communists at the elections. [passage omitted]

The Democratic Party has claimed that the Titograd Secretariat for Internal Affairs can simultaneously eavesdrop on 8,000 telephone conversations and that there was a harsh disagreement with the leaders of the Post, Telephone, and Telegraph Organization, because its future investment (about 10,000 telephones will be installed in Titograd alone) does not envisage any "control" of all these new telephone subscribers (to be done for the Internal Affairs Secretariat at the expense of the Post, Telephone, and Telegraph Organization).

Some other things have also been said about the "criminals who are ruling Montenegro" and who would like to continue doing so if they manage to rig the elections (it seems that "that will also happen"). The claims about the ways the LC is financed are particularly interesting. Party officials do not want to talk about the 40 billion dinars that they are going to acquire unlawfully. Mihailo Ljesar, director of the Montenegrin Social Accounting Service, has been accused of controlling these operations alone, and of not allowing any other Accounting Service official to have any access to them. The operations of the Maraton Enterprise, owned by the brother of party official Milo Djukanovic, are protected in the same way, but even better. The enterprise is the sole organizer of all the LC election campaign meetings and the illegally acquired LC money is flowing out through it. The police are silent, and party officials are particularly so.

Examples of the political violence in Montenegro are numerous. The settling of accounts have started among journalists, too. Rifat Rastoder, prominent POBJEDA commentator, who was a member of the committee for

the preparation of the LC congress, will have to pack his things and go soon. Other people are being threatened, some others are physically assaulted, and correspondents "from the north" are having their telephones tapped, their work is obstructed, and one is waiting to "see the last of them."

Slovene Assembly Guarded During Sovereignty Talks

AU1312104190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Special Units Provide Extra Security"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Since yesterday morning members of the special units of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs together with the regular militia have been providing extra security for all of the more important facilities in Slovenia. The members of the special units are armed with automatic rifles. Since this morning they have also been providing the same kind of protection for the republican Assembly building where delegates are discussing the bill on a referendum on autonomy and independence of the Republic of Slovenia.

Marko Herman, general secretary of the Slovene Assembly did not wish to make an official statement on the introduction of extra security for the Assembly.

Slovene Ministers Examine Relations With Army

AU1212172190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 90 p 12

[Stane Pucko report: "'U.S. Fleet is in Adriatic'"]

[Text] Ljubljana—The Slovene ministers for national defense and interior affairs, Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar, on Friday [7 December] explained to journalists the reasons for increasing security around more important facilities in Slovenia. Jansa said that there is a possibility of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] provoking various incidents. He also said that the greatest danger of something like that happening had passed when the Slovene parliament almost unanimously accepted the bill on referendum, but that incidents could nevertheless be expected, especially at the beginning of next week.

Commands Have Already Fallen

The request to return the weapons of the territorial defense and to hand over the documents on recruits could currently be regarded as incidents, Jansa said. He went on to explain that the JNA units have already been redeployed because of these tasks and that they were given the order to use gas and firearms. "We are convinced that reason will prevail, if for no other reasons than because of the guarantees which President Jovic and federal secretary Kadijevic gave to Dr. Janez Drnovsek—namely, that the JNA will not be carrying out any unusual activities in Slovenia. Possible provocations, however, are still being prepared; therefore, one can doubt the sincerity of these guarantees," Jansa said and added that the military police units and the special JNA units are being redeployed, and that some members of the General Staff have arrived in Slovenia.

They Must Not Open Fire First

If incidents do occur and if they result in a situation unfavorable for carrying out the referendum, the Slovene Assembly will adopt measures which it was otherwise planning to adopt after the referendum. "The targets of a possible 'attack' are protected, but our guards have a strict order not to use force first. Firearms could, however, be used, but this would have serious consequences for the one who resorts to them first," Jansa said. He also drew attention to the conclusions of the republican presidency according to which any use of force is considered an act of aggression which must be responded to sharply, with political and other methods. "If the JNA were to use force first, this would be the first step toward its collapse. We know that certain officers and groups in the JNA may refuse to carry out such orders and that some entire units are ready to refuse orders. In the JNA, there is a great difference between the leadership and the Army itself, because the leadership issues commands that are quite inappropriate for the situation and circumstances in which the Army lives and with which it is acquainted. Recently, there have been transfers of Slovene and other officers from Slovenia," Jansa said.

JNA and Serbian Police

According to Jansa, the JNA has joined in the election activities because it has worked out that Milosevic's fall would mean a fall of socialism, something that could undermine the foundations of the JNA. The JNA made available special combat vehicles to the Serbian police, something that could facilitate physical intervention. Obvious attempts have been made to create incidents in Croatia, because it is clear that the military leadership still does not recognize the legally elected authorities in Slovenia and Croatia.

Two Quotes

As proof of that, Igor Bavcar quoted two passages from a General Staff's document dated this November. One passage reads: "All forces of the right orientation in the country, with the maximum support of the foreign factor, have focused their destructive activities on breaking up the social and political system, the restoration of capitalism, and the creation of separate states. These are acts with which they are trying to quickly break up the integrity of the country...." The other passage reads: "The organs of security must focus their activities on the operational core in the communes and centers of nationalist separatists and profascists forces and movements, as well as individual cases, where there is collusion between extreme individuals and groups of individuals in the JNA units. Bavcar also said that this document openly mentions Slovenia.

Sixth Fleet in Readiness

He also told journalists that a part of the U.S. sixth fleet, consisting of six ships including a helicopter carrier, has entered the Adriatic. Jansa commented on this saying that the superpowers are aware of the possible hotbeds of crisis and that this was the response to the JNA's reinforcements on our borders. These reinforcements, however, are aimed at the interior of the country, Jansa said. Bavcar said that the U.S. fleet is probably in the state of readiness, because the crew is no longer allowed to come ashore.

Military Secrets: Journalists were also given two documents marked "military secret—strictly confidential" which refer to the work of security organs in the JNA. The documents reveal the methods of work of these organs which, as Jansa explained, are not allowed, and some of them even amount to a criminal act. The documents have not been published anywhere. They date from 1984 and 1986 are still in force. They were issued by the SFRY Presidency and the federal secretary for national defense.

Slovene Secret Service Revealed, Discussed

AU1212154290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 90 p 8

[Stevan Petrovic report: "Aggressive Spying on the Yugoslav People's Army"]

[Text] Maribor, 2 December—The members of the secret service, which operates under the code name "Sector 9" and as part of the republican Ministry of Defense of Slovenia, has literally been attacking members of the Yugoslav People's Army in the last few months in Slovenia with the active collaboration of the republican Internal Affairs Ministry. On the orders of Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar, the ministers of the two departments, information is being sought on the activities of the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia, lists are being drawn up of Army officers of Slovene nationality, and secret meetings are being organized with some of these in Maribor, Ljubljana, and other military centers in the republic. The officers of Slovene nationality are recruited to work in Slovenia in the newly-formed secret service, which still operates illegally and on an amateur basis, at least when it comes to its leaders and rank and file.

The "Sector 9" service has to a great extent also interfered in the private lives of citizens of Slovenia. They monitor the work and activities of the non-Slovene "factors" serving in this republic, analyze the behavior of the leadership in neighboring Croatia, carry out assessments of political events in Serbia, spy on unsuitable parties in Slovenia, and so on.

Head of the Secret Service—Former Lieutenant in the Yugoslav People's Army

All this was revealed at a news conference given by Roman Leljak, until recently an officer in the military security service in Slovenia, who, because of disagreement with the rules of service in the Yugoslav People's Army, had to leave the Army in 1988.

With the victory of Demos [United Opposition] in the elections in Slovenia and the appointment of Jansa and Bavcar as ministers for the Army and internal affairs, matters radically changed. Jansa and Bavcar decided six months ago to set up, illegally, unlawfully, and without the approval of the Assembly of Slovenia, its own intelligence and counterintelligence service called "Sector 9."

Jansa and Bavcar asked Leljak to work for them in Maribor. Of course, the scope of his tasks would have been considerably wider. He would have been primarily concerned with activities against the Yugoslav People's Army.

I rejected this request and offered Jansa and Bavcar only expert consultative cooperation, Leljak said.

Analyzing the stands of the leadership of "Sector 9" in Jansa's ministry, Leljak explains the following:

Inept Observers Outside Barracks

Andrej Lovsin, former lieutenant of the Yugoslav People's Army, who left the Yugoslav People's Army in 1985, was supposedly appointed as the head of this service, but he is a man who has never had any specialist experience in the security department. His deputy was named as Ivan Borstner, previously known because of the affair in the military court in Ljubljana, and communications officer by profession who has not worked in the security service either. Finally, the service also includes the former contract officer, the former lieutenant Franc Pulko. He was expelled from the army security service because of unreliability and incompetence.

Andrej Lovsin was "installed" in Jansa's secret service by Igor Bavcar who gave him the status of internal affairs inspector.

According to Roman Leljak, it was Lovsin and Borstner who recently came to Maribor in an official Mercedes belonging to the republican Internal Affairs Secretariat and chatted in various cafes with six officers of the Yugoslav People's Army of Slovene nationality about them cooperating with Jansa's secret service. Leljak was even more specific. He said that at the moment Jansa's "Sector 9" in Maribor has six permanent associates and that many of these are spread throughout Slovenia. The work of these agents is felt to a great extent in the field. This is confirmed by several officers of the Yugoslav People's Army in Maribor who complain that Jansa's people, as they say, are publicly watching them on the

streets and in cafes and other public places and tapping their telephones. On several occasions recently, military security organs had to literally chase away from outside the "Slava Klavova" and "Kadetnica" barracks inept observers who had been sitting in cars for hours and observing the movements of Army personnel, mainly officers, as well as military vehicles, weapons, and combat and special vehicles.

The fact that such things have been happening to a great extent in Slovenia can be seen from the parliamentary question which was put by Lieutenant Milan Aksentijevic to the leadership of this republic's Assembly. Aksentijevic at that time said without beating about the bush that the Army knows that the activities of the Yugoslav People's Army are being extensively monitored in this republic on orders of the republican National Defense Secretariat and the republican Internal Affairs Secretariat.

On Constitutionality in Slovenia

Roman Leljak claims that around 20,000 secret agents from four security services are already currently operating on Slovene territory.

Because I refused to work for them, Jansa and Bavcar organized a veritable campaign against me through the police in Maribor and Celje and hindered me in my publishing activities. They even went to Cakovec to persuade people in the "Zrinjski" printing firm to no longer print my books because I am supposedly a muddled and unreliable person.

Concerning constitutionality in Slovenia, Leljak said:

"In the present federal constitution of Yugoslavia, secret services are banned from arbitrarily breaching the inviolability of the apartments and telephone and postal services of citizens. The draft of the new Slovene constitution, however, allows all this, which in itself shows what kind of democracy we are in fact talking about in the Republic of Slovenia.

Polls on Support for Slovene Secession Published

AU0912181990

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 3 December on page 6 carries a 2,500-word report by Dr. Slobodanka Bakic-Golubovic on the results of BORBA's public opinion poll on Slovenia's secession, entitled: "Slovenes Do Not Want Out (Yet)."

BORBA polled a total of 500 people, 50 from 10 Slovene cities, who were randomly selected from the telephone directories. The following cities were covered by the poll: Ljubljana, Celje, Murska Sobota, Maribor, Kranj, Jesenice, Nova Gorica, Postojna, Koper, and Novo Mesto.

The results of the poll are presented in four tables as follows:

Table 1. "Should Slovenia become an independent European state?"

[a bar chart, figures expressed in percentages]

	Yes	No	Do Not Know
Ljubljana	48	38	14
Celje	50	20	30
Murska Sobota	36	34	30
Maribor	52	22	26
Kranj	34	32	34
Jesenice	38	40	22
Nova Gorica	38	30	32
Postojna	32	32	36
Koper	48	16	36
Novo Mesto	34	34	32

Table 2. "Should Slovenia become an independent European state?"

[figures in percentages]

Slovenia, 500 respondents:	
Yes	41
No	30
Do not know	29
	100

Table 3. "Reasons for voting 'Yes'"

[figures in percentages]

Slovenia, 41 percent of respondents:	
1. Free development, better organization, economic stability and prosperity	21
2. It is better that we ourselves decide on our own fate, that we are our own masters, our own managers	21
3. Because of the general (political and economic) situation in the country	15
4. We do not get on, it is better to live separately	12
5. Yugoslavia costs us a lot, we are giving too much to other republics and to various funds	9
6. Other reasons	8
7. No answer	14
	100

Table 4. "Reasons for voting 'no'"

[figures in percentages]

Slovenia, 30 percent of respondents:	
1. There are no conditions for this, we are too small and this would not pay off	30
2. We are in Yugoslavia, and should remain in it	24

Table 4. "Reasons for voting 'no'" (Continued)

[figures in percentages]

Slovenia, 30 percent of respondents:	
3. We can also be independent within (a confederal) Yugoslavia	20
4. Something like this is impossible to carry out, it would cost us much, we depend on one another too much	6
5. This would not solve Slovenia's real problems	4
6. Europe and the world do not want us the way we are	4
7. Other reasons	3
8. No reason given	9
	100

65 Percent Support Independence

AU1112203490 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Dec 90 p 1

["C.R."-signed report: "Public on the Plebiscite"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec—As the date of the plebiscite is coming nearer, the DELO Stik Agency has prepared a public opinion research of the views residents of Slovenia have on the plebiscite— how many of them plan to participate in the plebiscite and how they would vote. DELO will carry these results twice a week. Thus, the first poll was conducted on Wednesday, 5 December. It was conducted among a standard sample of 323 telephone subscribers, and the results are as follows: 81.7 percent of the respondents would take part in the plebiscite immediately, only 6.8 percent would stay at home, and 11.5 percent are still undecided. Of those who would participate, 79.5 percent would vote for, only 4.5 percent would be against, and 15.9 percent are undecided. A comparison between the number of people who would vote for and the complete number of respondents shows 65 percent of respondents supporting an independent Slovene state.

Poll Shows Increased Support

AU1112203690

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 10 December on pages 1 and 3 carries a 600-word report by D. S. entitled "Public Opinion on Plebiscite" on results of an opinion poll conducted by the DELO Stik Agency on the plebiscite on Slovenia's independence. According to the report, the poll was conducted on 9 December among 335 respondents.

The report contains the following poll results (figures in percentages):

Table 1: How will you vote at the plebiscite:

For	90.0
Against	3.1
Do not know	6.9

Table 2: Will you participate in the plebiscite:

Yes	86.3
No	2.7
Do not know	11.0

Table 3: "How should Slovene leaders react to pressures by the Yugoslav People's Army?"

Should persist in holding the plebiscite	84.2
Should give in	6.3
Do not know	9.6

Slovene Assembly Group Visits Croat Assembly

LD1212134190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The decision to hold a plebiscite on the Slovene Republic self-determination can be compared to the promulgation of a new constitution by the Republic of Croatia. Croatia fully understands and supports the Slovene Assembly's decision to hold the referendum, said Vladimir Seks, vice president of the Croat Assembly, in response to introductory notes by a delegation of the Slovene Assembly explaining the reasons for the referendum in Slovenia.

The Slovene Assembly delegation which includes Vitodrag Pukl, vice president of the assembly; Ciril Ribicic, assembly deputy for the Slovene LC-Democratic Reform Party and Bogo Rogina, an independent deputy; today visited the Croat Assembly as part of its program of visits to all Yugoslav republics and the province of Vojvodina within the framework of preparations for the referendum. The Slovene delegation was received by Croat Assembly Vice President Vladimir Seks; Ivan Vekic, president of the club of the assembly deputies of the ruling HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] Vice Vukojevic, chairman of the Croat Assembly's legislative commission; and Zdravko Tomac, representative of the opposition Party of Democratic Changes. Before the talks the Slovene delegation handed over a letter of intent in which France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly, explains the reasons for the plebiscite and how he sees the situation in Slovenia developing after the plebiscite. In the letter, Pukl explained, Slovenia insists that the plebiscite is not directed against any of the Yugoslav republics or against any of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities but that it reflects the sovereign will of the republic's entire population including about 20 percent of non-Slovenians. All parties in the Slovene parliament are in full agreement on the plebiscite, Pukl said, and went on to note that representatives of both the Italian and Hungarian nation in Slovenia also supported the decision to hold the plebiscite.

During the plebiscite which will be held on 23 December a decision will be made for which more than 50 percent of electorate will vote. If they vote for an independent

and autonomous Slovenia the Slovene state will take all necessary measures to facilitate the real functioning of the new state on the whole territory of the republic. Slovenia will observe all international agreements by taking over rights and obligations and will also support a peaceful resolution of all conflicts. The letter also mentions a period of six months in which Slovenia will endeavor to conclude a confederal agreement with other republics in Yugoslavia. We are offering all other republics an agreement on coexistence, be it a confederation or any other form of cooperation on the territory of the present Yugoslavia, Pukl said.

Croatian Assembly Vice President Vladimir Seks gave his full support to the Slovene decision and drew a comparison between the Slovene plebiscite and the new Croatian constitution. He pointed to a special position of Croatia, which is different from that in Slovenia, and hence roads leading toward future coexistence in Croatia are different. Vladimir Seks compared the talks being held today with the recent talks between Croatian and Slovene presidents, Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Milan Kucan in Celje, and underlined the Croatian desire for a very close cooperation with Slovenia. Representatives of opposition parties in the Slovene and Croatian Assembly, SKS-SDP and SDP discussed their full support for decision on the Slovene plebiscite and the Croatian constitution. They explained that they did not consider these decision as the disintegration of Yugoslavia, but as a necessary step toward a new historical agreement of Yugoslav nations. In case the agreement fails to succeed, Slovenia will decide to secede, Dr. Ciril Ribicic stressed.

Both delegation again condemned statements by army leaders and their threats of using forceful methods to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. Both Slovene and Croatian politicians maintain that any use of force would represent an end to the Yugoslav community. They agreed that Slovenia and Croatia, which have very much in common, should continue their very close cooperation and exchange of views.

Dvor na Uni Stops Payments to Federal Budget

LD0712235790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Dvor na Uni, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Deputies to all three chambers of the Dvor na Uni municipal assembly today assessed the political and security situation in this municipality as "extremely serious and complex." In addition to conclusions adopted after several hours of debates it was also said that "the economic blockade" imposed on the municipality of Dvor na Uni by the Government of the Republic of Croatia was fuelling further political destabilization on the municipality's territory. As their retaliatory measure, the deputies heralded the adoption of a decision to cancel all contributions to the funds and budgets for general and common spending of the Republic of Croatia and Yugoslavia.

In its conclusions, adopted on the suggestion of the main committee of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka], the municipal Assembly demands that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia, the police administration of Sisak, and the police station of Dvor na Uni "stop searching citizens and detaining them for some alleged armed robbery." Political mistrust was expressed in regard to the head of the Dvor na Uni police station, while it was demanded that the Sisak prosecuting organs immediately stop persecuting five citizens from this municipality's territory who are accused of seizing arms without authorization. It is claimed that they did not commit this act, but that the arms were distributed among the citizens at the command of the head of the police station.

Vojvodina Assembly Declines Slovene Invitation

LD1212141990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1217 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The presentation of the intention and content of the plebiscite which is to be held in the Republic of Slovenia comes within the competence of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, because it is a question of relations between republics and the federation.

Thus Vojvodina Assembly Vice President Damnjan Radenkovic gave a negative reply to the letter from Slovene Assembly President Franc Bucar which he sent to all republican and provincial assemblies informing them that Slovene Assembly three-member delegations will visit all republican and provincial assemblies and will brief them on the goals and content of the forthcoming plebiscite in Slovenia.

In this connection Slovene Assembly delegations are today paying visits to the Croatian, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegrin, and Macedonian assemblies.

Macedonian Party Leader Denies Possibility of War

AU0912145190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Ljupco Georgievski, president of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, by Dragan Djuric; place and date not given: ""We Are Not Leading Anyone Into War with Greece and Bulgaria""]

[Excerpts] Skopje—There was a turnaround in the second round of elections in Macedonia: the Macedonian national party VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] unexpectedly took the lead. We spoke to Ljupco Georgievski, its 25-year old president and unemployed Macedonian writer, who is also called warlord by his supporters, right before the second round of the Macedonian elections.

[Djuric] Are you happy with what has been achieved and what do you expect from the finale of the elections?

[Georgievski] VMRO-DPMNE is the only party which has managed to maintain its pace for the second round of elections. However, in order to win, all conditions would have to be met, above all there would have to be no falsifications.

[Djuric] In your opinion, who has been rigging the elections?

[Georgievski] In the first round, we did not have any of our people in any commission at polling stations and next to the ballot boxes. These people were all former Army officers, militiamen, or proven communists who had already handled several elections. We are talking about a Bolshevik guard which was divided between communists, reformists, and socialists. [passage omitted]

[Djuric] Does the confederal agreement that Croatia and Slovenia have put forward seem acceptable to you?

[Georgievski] This agreement is very interesting, particularly for us Macedonians, because it gives other states the opportunity to enter such a confederation. It does not have to be only a Yugoslav one: it could be a Balkan confederation. This is interesting for us because this community of states could also be joined by Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania, which would also make the unification of Macedonia and the Macedonian people possible, which is something that we are particularly committed to. [passage omitted]

[Djuric] One of the points in your program implies both the territorial and the political unification of Macedonia. This would mean annexation of the territory in Bulgaria and Greece (Pirin and Aegean Macedonia) where Macedonians live, but these two states do not recognize Macedonians, not even as a special nation. How then do you intend to realize this and when?

[Georgievski] This is an issue which the communist regime thoroughly simplified and vulgarized. They scared the voters by saying that we are leading them into war with Greece and Bulgaria for the sake of acquiring the territories. We stress that we intend to resolve this issue only with democratic and political action. We see a unified Macedonia in the context of a unified Europe and unified Balkans.

We do not claim that we will realize this tomorrow. We want to initiate processes which have been destroyed in Macedonia for 45 years. We simply want to begin talks on this and negotiate with our neighbors on the unification of Macedonia. There is no force which could stop us from doing this.

[Djuric] You say that you view the issue of the unification of Macedonia from a democratic standpoint, but at the same time you claim that there is no force that could prevent you from doing this.

[Georgievski] We will resolve this issue democratically—through talks and agreements. No one has previously dared talk about this in Macedonia. I therefore think that we have already taken the first step toward the unification of Macedonia.

[Djuric] In the Yugoslav community, you advocate the principle of "settled accounts." In this case, the arguments are economic strength, the size of territory, and the number of inhabitants. Do you think that considering these facts you can be negotiators on an equal footing at a Yugoslav roundtable?

[Georgievski] The question is raised in the context of Yugoslavia's present view of Macedonia and Macedonians. The Macedonians themselves and Macedonian politicians are to blame for this because they thought that Macedonia must respect the view of the other Yugoslav republics.

The fact is that only Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia have so far taken part in talks concerning Yugoslavia. However, it is also a fact that the Macedonian political leadership itself pulled out of these talks. It itself lost the right to discuss its own state.

We are insisting on Macedonia's positions being restored in Yugoslavia and we are insisting that its view be appreciated. Macedonia must become a real state and a factor which must be considered in all games and in all deals of the cards. This is our main aim and we have called it the restoration of the dignity of Macedonia and the return of Macedonians to the political scene. Our potential and size are sufficient however great they may be. Yugoslavia must realize that Macedonia really is a state and that talks must be held with it.

Four Parties To Share Power in Macedonia

LD1212133990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1153 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Skopje, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—One month after the multi-party elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia it is clear that four political parties will be sharing power—no party has won the necessary two-third majority.

The ethnically-oriented Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity (VMRO) has taken the most seats, 37, in the unicamerical 120-seat parliament in Macedonia. The League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation has 31 seats, the Alliance of Reformist Forces has 18 and the Socialist Party has four seats. The Party of Yugoslavs has a single deputy, and the ethnic Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity has 25. Three independent candidates have also succeeded in reaching the parliament.

VMRO's 37 seats are insufficient for it to form a government on its own or to elect a president of the republic, who must win a two-thirds majority in the republican Assembly. A left-wing coalition would have an overall majority but still insufficient for a parliamentary majority.

The Belgrade daily BORBA writes that the outcome of the election is such that a parliamentary crisis is very possible both in regard to the election of a president and the formation of a government, and also all measures proposed by the government. BORBA forecasts that all the big parties will apart from endeavouring to win the support of the independents also seek to attract deputies from the Party of Democratic Prosperity.

Federal Presidency Told of Defense Law Changes

AU1212220390 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Excerpts] We expected the SFRY Presidency to discuss the Slovene plebiscite at its session today. However, debate about the issue was postponed until after 23 December. The highest state leadership has devoted a great deal of attention to the attitude of the Yugoslav People's Army to political trends in all parts of the country.

As we have learned from circles close to the SFRY Presidency, a big turnabout happened at the session of the Federal Presidency, something that represented a great surprise, contrary all expectations, particularly following Veljko Kadijevic's recent interview.

We have learned from the above-mentioned circles that Army representatives showed a great deal of cooperativeness during the debate, and Veljko Kadijevic's statement sounded particularly constructive.

Among other things, he said that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense will tomorrow send the SFRY Assembly the proposal on the amendments to the Law on National Defense. [Words indistinct] that proposal is a legal provision according to which activities of all parties will be forbidden in the Yugoslav People's Army, including the activity of the League of Communists and of the new party, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia.

Veljko Kadijevic also said that it will be written down in the law that all political parties are equal, but that there will be no room for their activity in Army units.

In connection with the letter sent by the Croatian and Slovene presidencies about the depolitization of the Army and the position of the Territorial Defense units, members of the SFRY Presidency decided to discuss the issue at their session which will probably be held next week. [passage omitted]

Let us add here that the official press agency, TANJUG does not mention a single word about Kadijevic's proposal.

Presidency Views Defense Ministry Paper

AU1212184690 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The SFRY Presidency is holding its session in Belgrade today. At the proposal of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, a special decision should be discussed and adopted by the collective state leadership. As we have learned from circles close to the SFRY Presidency, what is involved is a document according to which individual republics, above all Croatia, should be given the possibility to take care themselves of the disarmament of all secondary armed groups at a certain time.

As we told you at the beginning, the Presidency session which had begun in the morning has still not discussed the said decision because members of the collective leadership from the northwestern parts of the country managed to adjourn that debate until further.

The SFRY Presidency session today focused on the information on the constitutional transformation of Yugoslavia on the basis of Jovic's assembly speech. In this connection, the Presidency examined the course of elections in individual republics.

Janez Drnovsek informed the members of the SFRY Presidency about the course of the preparations for the plebiscite in our republic. The Presidency has endorsed the report and decided that it will discuss questions connected with the plebiscite at one of its next sessions.

Janez Drnovsek warned the SFRY Presidency that in fact the plebiscite only means a consistent realization of Jovic's scheme and of the stances of the collective state leadership that have already been known to the public.

The SFRY Presidency also discussed the question of the extension of the Federal Government's term of office which, after the decisions had been adopted by the Assembly, it does not oppose.

A considerable part of today's session was devoted to discussing the fact that federal laws have not been respected. The Presidency agreed that a joint session of the SFRY Presidency, presidents of the republican presidencies and governments, and of the Federal Executive Council should be held soon. They will then agree about the joint tasks that represent a condition for the activity of the federal state.

As concerns the decision that the SFRY Presidency should adopt at the proposal of the Federal Defense Ministry, we can say that at the moment we are reporting this, the debate is under way on when the collective state leadership will begin discussing demands contained in that document.

Presidency Views Constitutional Crisis Management

LD1212180790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session today, the SFRY Presidency made the assessment that following the multiparty elections in the country, a political action has to be started—together with the Federal Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, and representatives of republics and provinces—to seek a way out of the political and constitutional crisis.

The statement on the Presidency session says: During its session today—a session chaired by President Dr. Borisav Jovic—the SFRY Presidency discussed topical issues in implementing the program of activity aimed at allowing the country to resolve the constitutional crisis, and the report on specific measures and activities that the Federal Executive Council (FEC) has undertaken to implement the SFRY Constitution and federal laws throughout SFRY territory.

FEC President Ante Markovic and other FEC representatives took part in the session proceedings. After present activity to identify the possible directions along which the constitutional crisis can be resolved had been discussed, it was agreed that, following multiparty elections in the republics, the SFRY Presidency, together with the SFRY Assembly, the FEC, and the most senior representatives of the republics and provinces, should start a new political action to seek a way out our political and constitutional crisis.

The SFRY Presidency believes that an agreement can be reached on all vital issues of our life together, and with calm and democratic dialogue and in a legitimate manner start work on the new setup in the country.

The SFRY Presidency will do all it can to establish a constructive atmosphere in which a public, well argued, and open dialogue between representatives of all the republics on the future system in Yugoslavia can be facilitated—without exclusivity, disqualification, ultimatums, or unilateral changes in jointly agreed solutions. Trust between Yugoslav nations and republics must be restored on this basis, in the assessment of the SFRY Presidency. Crude violations of federal constitutionality, legality, or anything else leading to conflict, disintegration, or impairment of the functioning of the federation must be eliminated.

The SFRY Presidency stresses that violations of constitutionality and legality have assumed alarming proportions. This process must be urgently halted, as it directly hampers the functioning of the federation. The SFRY Presidency therefore stresses the necessity for all political and other activities and all available legal devices in ensuring the strict observance of all financial and other obligations stemming from federal laws and from decisions of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court. To this end, the SFRY Presidency urges the most responsible organs in the federation, republics, and provinces to hold urgent negotiations.

The SFRY Presidency fully supports the activities of the Federal Executive Council and efforts by others to bring to completion the debate on constitutional amendments. It also urges the promulgation of the amendments adopted by the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber on 8 August as a vital constitutional and legal prerequisite for continuing economic and political reforms.

At its session the SFRY Presidency also came out in favor of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber's conclusions on the SFRY Presidency's proposals, and endorsed the work of the SFRY Assembly's commission for constitutional issues—which has been working hard on a document outlining procedures in resolving the constitutional crisis.

The SFRY Presidency also discussed a number of other issues within its competence, as well as a report on measures taken so far to compensate for damage to Yugoslavia as a result of the crisis in the Gulf.

Deputy Defense Secretary Supports Kadijevic

LD1212094290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Federal National Defense Secretary Veljko Kasijevic voiced his own personal views and assessments in his DANAS interview, his deputy, Admiral Stane Brovet stated today in the Yugoslav Assembly. Asked by a Slovene delegate Bozo Kovac, whether the interview is in line with Federal Executive Council [FEC] policies, Admiral Brovet, speaking at a session of the Federal Chamber Committee for Internal Policy, said that FEC views were not harmonized prior to General Kadijevic giving his interview. Nevertheless, everything he stated neither oversteps his competencies nor breaches the SFRY Constitution, the observance of which both the Federal Assembly and the FEC urge.

Asked by Croatian delegate [name indistinct] to interpret Kadijevic's words that, objectively speaking, territorial defense is a big swindle, Admiral Brovet stated: I personally subscribe to this view. He added: Since the formation of territorial defense in the late 1960's, territorial defense has become the backbone of and the basis for the drive to set up republican armies, i.e., parallel armies. This state of affairs does not exist in any other country, apart from Lebanon, Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for National defense, stated.

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 1317 GMT on 12 December adds in a similar report, datelined Belgrade, 11z December, that Brovet also "pointed out that Gen. Kadijevic's statements had met with the support of members of the Yugoslav armed forces and the majority of Yugoslavs."]

Slovene Prime Minister Meets Austrian Chancellor

LD1212112190 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] At the end of his two-day visit to Austria Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle had talks today with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. An assessment was made during the talks yesterday with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock and other senior politicians and during the meeting today with Vranitzky of the possible development of relations between the Yugoslav republics. One topic of Peterle's talks in Austria was the role of the Army and its possible intervention in democratic changes. Franz Vranitzky stated that the Austrian attitude concerning Yugoslavia's future set-up differed from the official views of some other Western European countries. Austria does not insist on the unity and federal set-up of Yugoslavia. As Lojze Peterle said during the news conference at the end of the talks, Austria will maintain good-neighbourly relations vis-a-vis a possible new kind of relationship between the Yugoslav republics and will respect the right to self-determination of the peoples.